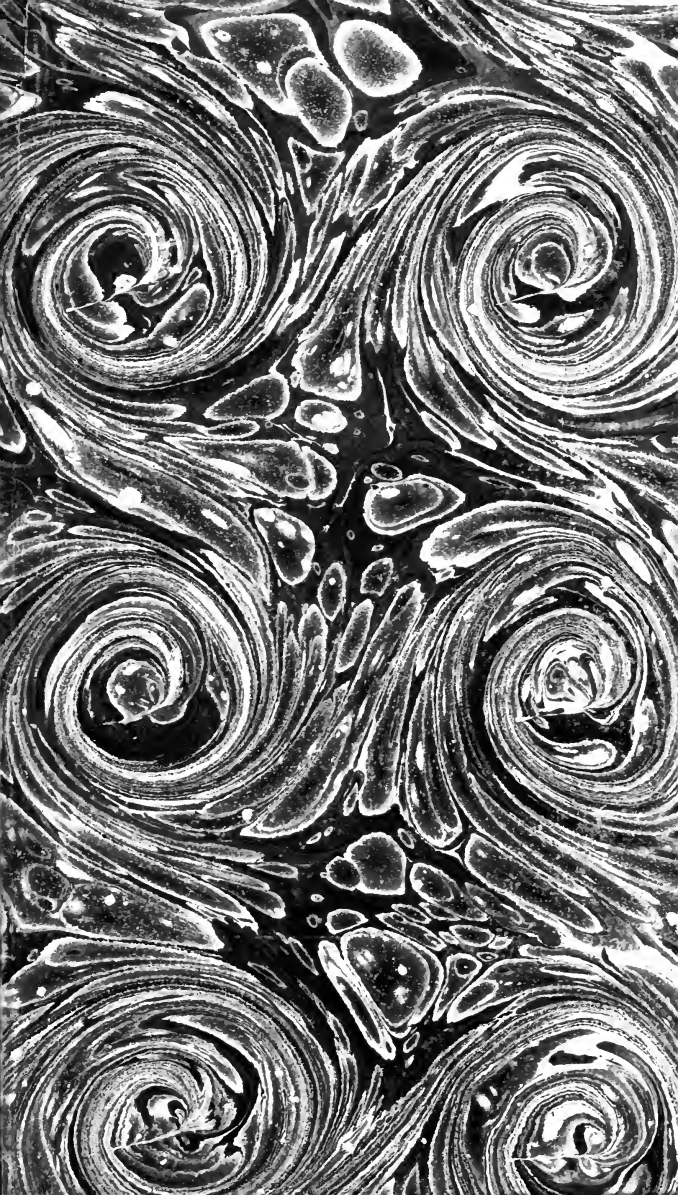




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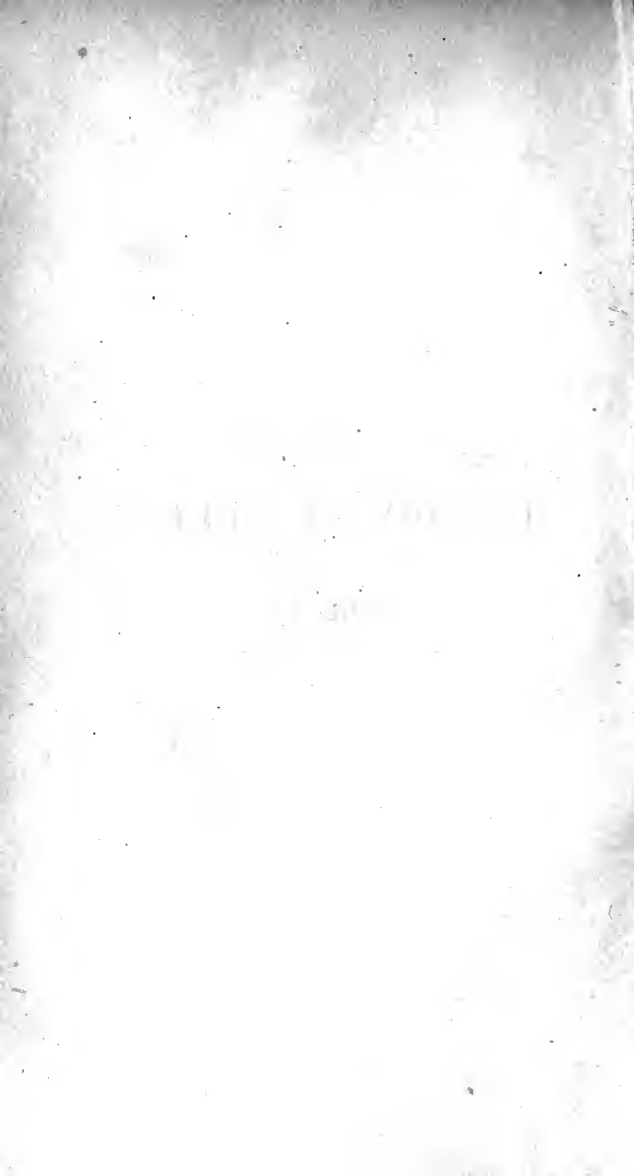




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THE  
HISTORY OF GREECE.

VOL. V.

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THE  
HISTORY OF GREECE.

BY  
WILLIAM MITFORD, ESQ.

*A New Edition,*  
WITH NUMEROUS ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED  
A BRIEF MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR,  
BY HIS BROTHER, LORD REDESDALE.



IN TEN VOLUMES.  
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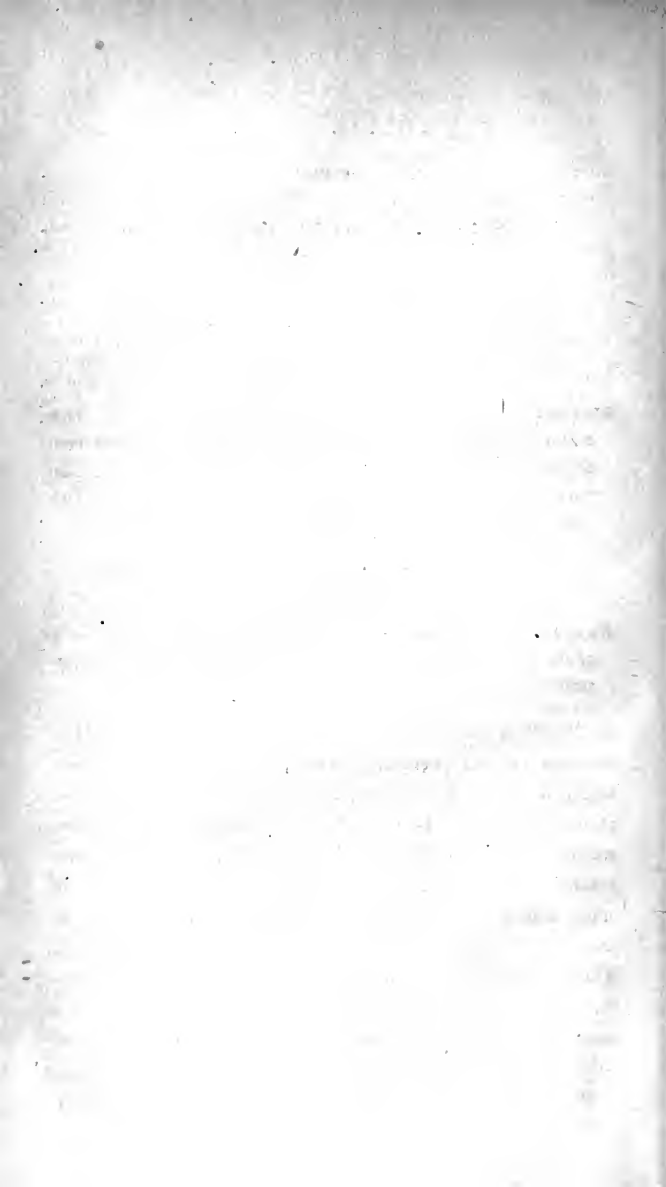
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CHAPTER XXI.

HISTORY OF ATHENS FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THIRTY, COMMONLY CALLED THE THIRTY TYRANTS, TO THE RESTORATION OF THE DEMOCRACY BY THRASYBULUS.

SECTION I.

*Recapitulatory Synopsis of the Peloponnesian War. — Deficiency of the Greeks in political Science. — Condition of Slaves meliorated by the Peloponnesian War.*

IN the long and complicated war, which it has been the business of the preceding chapters to relate, the reader would in vain look for campaigns upon the extensive scale of Hannibal's in Italy, Cæsar's in various parts of the ancient world, or many in modern Europe. It was not a war between two great states, but between two confederacies of small states, with intermingled territories. The objects of attack and defence were thus numerous and scattered. The Lacedæmonian confederacy, strong in disciplined numbers, was deficient in pecuniary resources; while the very purpose of Athens, defensive war, restrained her operations to a correspondence with those of her enemies. Hence, in the account of Thucydides, digested scrupulously accord-

ing to the order of events, the Peloponnesian war may appear, to superficial observation, an unconnected series of action, in which the enterprises had often no very near relation to each other, or to the first and great object of the contending parties. In the foregoing narrative it has always been in view to guard the reader against a mistake into which some writers on the subject have fallen; yet, to enable him to follow, with greater facility, the clue of Grecian politics through succeeding times, it may be advantageous here briefly to retrace the principal features of that multifarious series of events.<sup>1</sup>

The Peloponnesian war was truly a civil war: it was less a contest between Lacedæmon and Athens than between

<sup>1</sup> Barthelemi, in the Grecian history which he has interwoven in his *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*, after a concise account of the first campaign of the Peloponnesian war, proceeds thus: "Les campagnes qui la suivirent n'offrent de même qu'une continuité d'actions particulières, de courses rapides, d'entreprises qui semblent étrangères à l'objet qu'on se proposait de part & d'autre. Comment des peuples si guerriers et si voisins, animés par une ancienne jalousie et des haines récentes, ne songeaient-ils qu'à se surprendre, à s'éviter, à partager leurs forces, et, par une foule de diversions sans éclat ou sans danger, à multiplier et prolonger les malheurs de la guerre? C'est parce que cette guerre ne devait pas se conduire sur le même plan que les autres." P. 2. s. 3. This solution of the difficulty can scarcely but excite a smile; and the more detailed explanation, which the learned author proceeds to attempt, will not be found very satisfactory. But the contemporary historian would have furnished him with a sober and very sufficient answer to his petulant question. It occurs in a speech of Pericles, reported by Thucydides, in his first book; and the part most pointedly to the purpose is in the 141st chapter. Barthelemi's work is a rich mine of information concerning the interesting people he describes; but for its very merit it is important that its deficiencies and errors should be exposed. Barthelemi had imbibed the political principles of the French philosophy, and was warm in the cause of ideal liberty: but, though he passed much of his time in the house of a minister, the Duke of Choiseul, he seems to have been no politician; he certainly had no clear insight into the complicated politics of Greece. His fellow-countryman Rollin, though an academician, shows juster views of Grecian history. Had he avoided to interrupt and perplex his narrative with anecdotes, biography, and preaching, which might have been better thrown into an appendix, his book, instead of being esteemed fit only for boys, might have maintained its reputation as the best epitome of Grecian history, for the earlier part, that has yet appeared. After losing the guidance of the contemporary historians indeed he has been bewildered.

the oligarchal and democratical interests throughout the Grecian commonwealths : in every one of which was a party friendly to the public enemy ; with whom it had a community of interest, not, as may happen in modern Europe, accidental, unprincipled, and passing, but fundamental and permanent ; so that, with the success of that public enemy, not only the political welfare of the party, but the private welfare of its members, was intimately and, for the most part, inseparably implicated. The apprehension excited, among the oligarchal states, by the growing preponderance of the Athenian democracy, rendered terrible by its spirit of conquest, its spirit of tyranny, and its particular disposition to overthrow and oppress the oligarchal interest, was the real source of the war.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of the Peloponnesians therefore, though in offensive mea-

Ch. 13. s. 5.  
of this Hist.

sures, was, not to conquer Athens, but only to reduce her to a state of inability to conquer them. For this end it was held sufficient, and it was deemed also indispensably necessary, to deprive her of that dominion over other Grecian states which, by affording a superior revenue, enabled her to maintain the most formidable navy to that time known in the world, and to carry hostilities to distant countries, by land as well as by sea. The invasion of Attica, for two successive years, had this for its principal object ; the siege of Plataea, and the unavailing attempt at naval exertion, equally followed with the same view. Meanwhile it was the purpose of Pericles to strengthen Athens, if possible, by alliance, but not by conquest. It sufficed to let her enemies weary and impoverish themselves with fruitless attack, and

<sup>2</sup> The alarm spread over Europe by a similar spirit, carried indeed to a greater extravagance, in the French democracy, may possibly be supposed to have furnished this idea ; but it was derived purely from the Grecian contemporary historians ; and indeed the passage was written before the spirit of conquest and tyranny among the French had given the lie direct to their pretension of peaceful and equitable principles.

the consequences would be equal to victory: her power would be at least confirmed, and probably extended. And in these views he was favoured by the circumstances of the Athenian dominion, and by the warfare of the age. For the Athenian dominion consisted mostly of islands and transmarine territories, secure through the superiority of the Athenian fleet; and though a country could less easily be defended against a superior invading force with ancient than with modern weapons, yet towns derived a security from fortifications which, against the modern art of attack, no art of defence can give.

But what the Peloponnesian arms alone could not accomplish, the pestilence, co-operating with them, in some degree effected. The severity of the pressure upon Athens at home encouraged the oligarchal and checked the democratical interest in her foreign dependencies. In some of them ensued what, in modern phrase, we should call a change of administration; and, instantly as the oligarchal became the prevailing party, revolt was ripe: with the first favouring opportunity the Athenian connection was renounced, and the Lacedæmonian adopted. Thus the operations of the war became distracted and complex, while the principal object remained simple and the same. The command of the sea nevertheless enabled the Athenians to vindicate their transmarine dominion; the extraordinary affair of Pylus put pledges into their hands which insured Attica against farther invasion; and thus, nearly five years after the death of Pericles, the purpose of that great statesman was accomplished, in the acquisition of means for making an honourable and advantageous peace. But unfortunately, in the want of his superintending wisdom, the popular will, bandied from orator to orator, and often subjected to the unworthiest, owned no principle but of ambition and avarice, inflamed by success; till, Brasidas obtaining the direction of the

enemy's arms, and Cleon of their own, defeat restored among the Athenians the moderation which success had banished, and peace was made.

Such was the first series of action of the Peloponnesian war. The ancient enmity of Lacedæmon and Argos, in concurrence with the rising ambition of Alcibiades, produced a second; abundantly complicated, though within a narrow field. But still, reduced to its elements, it was a contest between oligarchy and democracy.

The circumstances of Sicily led to a third series. Here a new principle was the spring, and here first conquest upon a great scale came into view. Democracy here was opposed to democracy. But, unlike those little democratical states, which could only support themselves under the protecting power of Athens, Syracuse was so powerful as to assert its own dominion over almost all the other Grecian cities of Sicily. Such a democracy was perhaps even more obnoxious to the domineering temper of the Athenian people than the most absolute oligarchy or monarchy. Thus the jealousy and the ambition of the Athenian people were led readily to second the ambition of Alcibiades. But on the removal of the able projector the magnificence of the project shrunk; and, with the overthrow of the Athenian forces in Sicily, the principle, upon which the Sicilian war was begun, totally lost its energy.

From the Sicilian war then resulted a fourth and concluding series of action; complicated in its circumstances, but in principle brought back to the original spring,—the opposition of interest of the democratical and oligarchal parties throughout Greece. The prominent points of that series were, the revolt of the Athenian dependencies; war transferred to the Asiatic coast; the connection of Lacedæmon with Persia; sedition in Athens itself, with the short triumph of the oligarchal party there, more hostile to their

fellow-countrymen of the opposite interest than to the common enemy; and thence that weakness and instability in all the powers of government, which superinduced the defeat of *Ægospotami*, and the capture of the city.

Able in war, skilful, perhaps to the utmost extent of human ability, in political intrigue and political negotiation, in leading fellow-citizens, in bargaining with strangers, the Greeks were unfortunately deficient in the more important science of framing that great machine which we call a Government; harmonising the various ranks of men of which a nation must consist; providing, at the same time, security for property, and equal justice for those who have no property; establishing, for the well-disposed of every rank, an interest in the preservation of the constitution, and, for the unprincipled and turbulent, strong coercion to secure it against disturbance; reconciling the protection of private rights with the maintenance of public force, and making a general private interest in the support of the existing order of things the basis of patriotism, and the source of general concord and public spirit. In the preceding chapters we have traced the rise and downfall of the most celebrated democracy that has appeared in the world: we have seen the wonderful force of that form of government as a spring, which enabled so small a community to become such a formidable power, to acquire such extensive dominion, and to exhibit, within so short a period, so many exalted characters. But we have seen too its utter unfitness both to give security under equal law to its own people, and to rest in peace among neighbouring states; its disposition to exercise the most oppressive tyranny against the most illustrious of its own citizens, and the most imperious and cruel despotism over those who were so unfortunate as to fall under its sovereignty in the condition of subjects; and we have seen that, though it might have resisted the combination, which



its injurious and alarming conduct excited, of the most powerful military confederacy with the wealthiest empire to that time known, yet the highest spirit in the people, with very uncommon abilities in the leaders, was unable to avert the ruin which such a government hath an eternal tendency to bring upon itself.

The benefit of instruction and the amusement of interesting investigation should reward the painful contemplation of the crimes, follies, and miseries of mankind, which it is the office of history to relate : any gratification arising from matter pleasing in itself must be placed to the account of incidental gain. But when occasionally we find, in the course of events, good beaming upon men, or evil alleviated, the satisfaction will be greater in proportion as the surrounding scene is dark, and the relief unexpected. We have had occasion to observe that misfortune could scarcely befall a Grecian state, so imperfectly were the Grecian governments harmonised, but benefit, or at least the prospect of benefit, would result to some considerable portion of its members. We shall be more gratified to find that, with the various miseries which a war of twenty-seven years diffused among those called citizens of the Greek nation, it brought a very general alleviation of evil to that far more numerous portion of mankind, the Grecian slaves. When all neighbouring republics were friendly, the slave looked around in vain for refuge from the cruelty of an inhuman master ; but if they were hostile, it behoved equally the wealthy despot of many slaves, and the poor tyrant of one, to beware how he set the wretch upon comparing the risk of desertion with the hope of a better service. The Grecian republics indeed were not all entirely without laws for the protection of that unfortunate portion of the human race : at Athens particularly the wise and humane institutions of Solon provided for them a lot that other slaves might envy. Yet even at Athens they might be very

harshly treated; and even there the war produced regulations to soften their condition. What the ancient historians have left unnoticed (for slaves came little within their regard) we

Aristoph.  
Nub. v. 7.

learn from the celebrated comic poet of the day. In the comedy yet extant, called *The Clouds*, we find an old country-gentleman of Attica ludicrously execrating the war because he was no longer permitted to beat his slaves.

Thus incidentally only we get information of the condition of those who formed far the larger part of the population of the boasted free republics of Greece. Of the lot of their masters, the citizens, or however of those of Athens, in so many respects the first of the republics, our information is large; and coming from contemporary writers, of various situations in life, various views and pursuits, and of various and opposite political interests, it is, in great proportion, amply authenticated. From this it will be advantageous, and even necessary, to endeavour to select and throw together here what may be wanting to elucidate the views, and account for the actions, of those to whom, on the surrender of the city to the Lacedæmonian arms, the supreme power was committed; for, without such preparation, the conduct of men among the first of Greece in birth, talents, and education might appear monstrous and irrational, and the story, however well attested, altogether too strange for belief.

## SECTION II.

*Character of the Athenian Democracy; Judicature; Revenue; Sycophancy; Theatrical Satire; Law of Treason.*

Ch. 5. s. 4.  
of this Hist.

WE have already had occasion to observe that Solon introduced, or left, in the Athenian constitution, a defect which had the most direct and irresistible

tendency to its destruction. Carefully providing for the responsibility of ministers, he committed absolute sovereignty immediately to the multitude, who could be responsible to none. The same power delegated to representatives, who, at stated periods, should be responsible to the multitude, would not have been so hastily ruinous. He intended indeed that the councils of the Areopagus and of the Fourhundred, afterward Fivehundred, should balance the authority of the popular assembly; and they might have been effectual balances to a body representative of the people; but against sovereign power, committed immediately to the people at large, no balance could avail. Interested demagogues inciting, restraint was soon overborne, and so the Athenian government became, what, in the very age, we find it was called, and the people seem to have been even pleased to hear it called, A TYRANNY IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE.<sup>3</sup>

We want information how Solon composed his courts of justice; but there seems reason to believe that, among the changes introduced by Clisthenes and Ephialtes, not only his venerable tribunal of the Areopagus, but the whole judicature of Athens suffered. The institution of wages for serving in the ten ordinary courts is Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 12. attributed to Pericles. It was a mode of bribing the people. Three oboles, about fourpence sterling, were the daily pay of a dicast, whose office resembled that of our jurymen. The rich and the industrious avoided; the poor, the idle, the profligate thenceforward sought the office; it became their resource for a livelihood.<sup>4</sup> To extend gratification then

<sup>3</sup> *Τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχήν.* Thucyd. l. 2. c. 63. & l. 3. c. 37.

<sup>4</sup> "I sold sausages," says Agoracritus, in *The Knights* of Aristophanes, "but I got the best part of my livelihood by judging causes." V. 1239. & 1255. "And if the archon should not order the court to sit," says a boy in the *Wasps*, "how are we to have victuals?" "Alas!" answers his father, "I fear we must go supperless." V. 309.

among that sovereign order, the juries were made immoderately numerous. Five hundred was the ordinary number of each. In the ten courts, unless the demands of military service interfered, no less than six thousand citizens are said to have been employed, except on holidays, daily throughout the year; and, for a cause of extraordinary importance, the whole six thousand were sometimes assembled to compose the single tribunal called *Heliaea*. But the holidays themselves, which interrupted the business of the courts, afforded also a pretence and a mode for bribing the people. They were truly seasons of festival; in which the numerous carcasses of animals killed in sacrifice were distributed to the multitude. Demagogues therefore would omit no opportunity for ingratiating themselves at so easy a rate as by the proposal of a new festival; and thus the Athenian holidays were multiplied till they were twice the number of those of any other Grecian city. Still however they were far from equalling those of the Roman church in modern Europe, making, all together, no more than a sixth part of the year.

Aristoph.  
Vesp.

Andoc. de  
myst. p. 9.

Xen. resp.  
Athen. c. 2.  
s. 9. & c. 3.  
s. 2. & 8.

In the deficiency therefore of subsistence provided under the name of Sacrifice, a lawsuit, or, still more, a criminal prosecution, became the delight of the Athenian people. Beside the certain pay, which was small, there was the hope of bribes, which might be large; while pride was gratified by the importance which accrued to the meanest man who could call himself an Athenian citizen. Fine and confiscation, ordinary punishments of the Athenian law, conveyed the property of the wealthy to the treasury; to be thence distributed in various ways, theatrical exhibitions, processions, and feasts, for the gratification of the people, or wages on pretence of paying their services. Suits and

prosecutions therefore, encouraged by the interest of the sovereign, became innumerable ; and life and property were rendered insecure beyond what anything seen in the most profligate of modern European governments, at least of times before the French revolution, would give to imagine under any government possible. The glorious security provided by the English law, which requires the solemn sanction of a grand jury to the merit of the accusation, before any man can be subjected even to trial, was unknown at Athens. It appears as if liberty was held there (so was the spirit of Solon's system perverted) to consist, not in the security of every one against injury from others, but in the power of every one to injure others. Any man might constitute himself accuser against any, and the king-archon was bound by his office to bring the accused to trial. When the cause came before the jury, no right of challenge, the second security of Englishmen, gave the accused Athenian means of guarding against partiality in his judges. The effect of partiality in some it was indeed proposed Xen. resp. Athen. c. 3. s. 12. to obviate by multitude, such that the majority should not be likely to concur in it : but the disadvantages of such a resource perhaps exceeded its benefits. In no conference among themselves could the informed and the wary, of so numerous a court, correct the prejudices and misjudgment of the ignorant, careless, or impassioned, or obviate the effects of misused eloquence ; nor was it possible to make so large a portion of the sovereign people responsible for the most irregular or flagitious decision. Punishment could not be, and among the multitude shame was lost. Under this constitution of judicature the most victorious and deserving general, the ablest and most upright magistrate, or the most inoffensive private citizen, might be brought to trial for his life at the pleasure of the most profligate of mankind. Even

the allegation of a specific crime, a crime defined by law, was unnecessary. Constructive treason, any imputed disaffection to the sovereignty of the people, sufficed ; and, as passion and prejudice, or the powers of oratory, or solicitation and bribery, moved, condemnation or acquittal were pronounced.

Lys. Or. pro  
Polystr. p. 664.  
& Or. con.  
Ergocl. p. 320.

We have, from Aristophanes, a ludicrous picture, not perhaps greatly inflated, of the importance which the political and judicial system of Athens gave to every individual citizen ; of the court paid in consequence to those, mostly men beyond the age of military service, who gave their time to the tribunals in the office of dicast, and of the usual pride and profligacy of such as could hold any leading influence there. “ We are as great as kings,” an old dicast says : “ the principal men of the commonwealth watch our rising in the morning. Presently one of those who have embezzled public money approaches me, bows humbly, and begs favour. ‘ If ever you yourself,’ he says, ‘ in any office, or but in the management of a military mess, robbed your comrades, pity me ! ’ He stood trembling before me as if I was a god.” Allowing for something of caricature, still this is a picture from the life, of democratical probity, modesty, and magnanimity.

Vesp. v. 46.  
—569.

It may be held as an unfailing political maxim, that where the property of individuals is insecure, the PUBLIC REVENUE will be ill administered. Perhaps Solon, little foreseeing that his commonwealth would want, did not desire that it should have, a great revenue. A sovereign people indeed would not easily be persuaded to pay taxes ; but some provision for public expenses would be necessary. Attica fortunately possessed, in the silver mines of Laurium, an advantage unknown in any other part of Proper Greece. Those mines were public property ; and perhaps under such a government as that of Athens the mode

Xen. de vectig.

of deriving a public revenue from them was altogether the most advantageous for the public that could have been devised. They were let to individuals, to work for their private benefit, paying only into the public treasury a certain proportion; at one time said only to be a twenty-fourth of the ore obtained. Such however as the return was, it is said by Xenophon to have been the most profitable source of the regular public revenue of Athens. The sacred olive-trees, the income from which could be Lys. Or. de oleâ sacrâ. but small, were looked to as a second branch. Scattered among the lands of individuals in various parts of Attica, they were consecrated, together with the ground immediately around them, (perhaps originally by the policy of the government, for their security,) to the goddess protectress of Athens; the fruit was sold by auction, under direction of the court of Areopagus, and the price was paid into the treasury. A third branch of the Athenian revenue consisted in the rents of public lands and houses, mostly acquired from individuals by forfeiture.

But, among the little states of Greece, the first purpose of a public revenue was generally less to supply public than private needs; less to support civil and military establishments, than to provide a maintenance for citizens without property, without industry, and perhaps without objects for industry: it was to answer the purpose of our poor-rate. Solon had been anxious to promote industry among his people. He desired rather that they should earn their livelihood by labour than be maintained in idleness: and, not, with the credulous inexperience and deficient foresight of some modern political speculators, supposing democracy naturally economical, he proposed to check its wildness and extravagance by committing to his court of Areopagus a controlling power over all issues from the treasury. But the revolutions under Pisistratus, and still much more that under

Clisthenes, deranged his wise institutions: the passions of the multitude and the interest of demagogues met; and, before the Persian invasion, we find the whole revenue from the

Ch. 8. s. 2.  
of this Hist.

silver mines distributed among the people. This extravagance was remedied, as we have seen, by the extraordinary address of Themistocles; who, with the advantage of favouring circumstances, persuaded the many to resign that revenue for public purposes, and hence acquired the means to make Athens the greatest maritime power to that time seen in the world.

We are uninformed by what able statesman, or in what public exigency, the Athenians were persuaded to submit to

Andoc. de  
myst. p. 65.

a tax, in the manner of the modern customs, of a fiftieth of the value upon all goods imported, and upon some exports. Early in the Peloponnesian war we find it familiar; as also a small toll, or a kind of excise duty, on goods sold in the markets. The two, forming together a very light burthen, were the only regular and general taxes at any time paid by the Athenian people.<sup>5</sup>

The deficiency of a public revenue, arising from sources so scanty, was in some degree supplied by an imposition, in the manner of a poll-tax, on the metics, those numerous free residents in Attica who were not Athenian citizens. This however seems to have been not in its amount oppressive, any more than in its principle unreasonable. It was the consideration for the advantages which the residence of Athens and the protection of the Athenian government

<sup>5</sup> The articles of the Athenian revenue are thus enumerated by Aristophanes — *ἐκατοστάς, Πευτανῖα, μέταλλ', ἀγορὰς, λιμένας, μισθοὺς, καὶ δημώματα*. Vesp. v. 657. The amount he reckons two thousand talents, about five hundred thousand pounds sterling. The *ἑκατοστάι*, hundredths, appear to have been the same tax which Andocides calls fiftieths. Perhaps it may have been doubled after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, to supply the deficiency of the public revenue arising from loss of dominion. For the other articles, the curious reader may consult the scholiast on Aristophanes, and Xenophon on the Athenian republic, c. 1. s. 16—19.



afforded. Through the superior population of that city, the extent of its dominion, and the protection for maritime communication which naval empire afforded to its subjects, trade could be carried on there upon a greater scale, and with more certain profit, than in any other situation in Greece. The metics were not Greeks only from various cities, but Lydians, Phrygians, Xen. de vectigal. c. 2. s. 3. Syrians, and other barbarians, and they seem to have formed the greatest portion of the traders of Athens, and of the manufacturers not slaves; these however remaining the most numerous.

The regular taxes, which the Athenian people would consent to pay for the support of that government of which they held in their own hands the immediate sovereignty, were light. But they were irregular and partial, in their principle inimical to equal freedom, every way worthy of the most despotic government, and thus were as the materials of storm in a lowering sky, threatening always all, but falling chiefly on the higher ranks of citizens. It seems likely to have been when the poorer many were persuaded to make the patriotic surrender of their dividends from the silver-mines for building a fleet, that the wealthier few undertook, at their own charge, to equip the ships when built. There was an apparent fairness and liberality, on both sides, in such a compromise. But, as the balances of Solon's government were successively overthrown, and the popular will became the instrument of arbitrary power in the hands of the demagogue of the day, the practice, grown into law, for individuals to equip the fleet, degenerated into a source of grievous oppression. Regulated by no certain principle, the wealthier, or those reputed the wealthier citizens, were annually appointed by arbitrary nomination (in the Peloponnesian war to the number of four hundred) to be responsible from their private fortunes, some Xen. Athen. resp. c. 3. s. 4.

singly, some in partnership with others, for the equipment of a ship of war. Intrigue and popular favour, or popular displeasure, decided on whom the burthen should be light, and whom it should oppress. Yet, whether from a natural sense of justice, or some remaining prejudice in favour of the old Athenian constitution, the person who equipped the trireme was generally allowed to command it, or to name the commander.

Another irregular tax, not unknown where single despots have ruled, with the improper name of free-gift, was frequently exacted by the despotic democracy of Athens. This, a tax also upon the higher ranks only, and perfectly arbitrary, could not fail to become partial and oppressive in extreme. Among taxes partaking of the nature of free-gifts may also be reckoned the requisition for the rich to exhibit, at their own expense, theatrical entertainments, and other costly shows, for the amusement of the people; taxes severely felt by the higher ranks, though contributing nothing to the public revenue or the public force.

But Athens, in acquiring extensive dominion, acquired means to make others pay the principal expense of that force which was to maintain her dominion; and a democracy, least of all governments, would scruple any means of profit. The comic poet, one of the most informed and clear-sighted politicians, and, however reprehensible in some points, very far from having been altogether the worst citizen of his age, has painted the popular temper of the day in a speech so breathing the purest spirit of democracy,

Ch. 16. s. 2.  
of this Hist.  
Vesp. v. 705.

that, though already noticed, it may not be superfluous to repeat it here. "A thousand cities," it is observed by one of the characters in his comedy called *The Wasps*, "pay tribute to Athens. Now were each ordered to furnish subsistence for only twenty Athenians, twenty thousand of us might live in all ease and luxury, in

a manner worthy of the dignity of the commonwealth and of the trophy of Marathon." The mixture of aristocracy yet remaining in the Athenian constitution prevented any actual attempt to carry a measure so congenial to what may perhaps not improperly be called the natural politics of the multitude. But in the empire which Athens exercised over so many transmarine cities a vast field for peculation was open. New and greater objects then incited contending factions; and immoderate temptation occurred for those in authority, and those who sought authority, to put forward measures ultimately the most adverse to the public good, if they tended in the moment to gratify the many. The principal powers of the court of Areopagus, and especially its salutary control over the treasury, were thus abolished; and when the commanding abilities of Pericles no longer checked popular extravagance, there followed the grossest dilapidation of the public money, the most tyrannical oppression of the allies, and the most profligate exercise of the purest despotism over the most respectable citizens. Fine and confiscation were looked to less for the purpose of justice than of revenue. The temptation to peculate, the insecurity of innocence, and the hope for crime to escape punishment, became such, that, amid the general depravity of Grecian governments, Athenian peculation grew proverbial; and it was at the same time made a question, whether it was advantageous for an individual to have property, and whether it was advantageous for the commonwealth to have a revenue. If we might believe Aristophanes, (who almost alone, among the poets of the day, dared direct his satire on the public stage to restrain the folly and correct the profligacy of the tyrant multitude,) of two thousand talents, esteemed the annual amount of the Athenian revenue, except one-tenth, distributed among the people for serving

Xenoph. Anab.  
l. 4. c. 6. s. 12.  
Xenoph. resp.  
Ath. & Sym-  
pos.

Aristoph.  
Vesp. v. 667.  
& seq.

the office of dicast, the whole was consumed in peculation. This round assertion, put into the mouth of a comic character, will of course not obtain credit for exactness; yet, from the concurring testimonies of Xenophon and Lysias, (whose concurring testimonies, as they were of opposite parties, must be allowed powerful,) it seems to have been

Xenoph. resp.  
Ath. c. 3. s. 3.

not very extravagant. Frequent capital punishments, with confiscation of all property, did not prevent the frequency of an alluring crime, where probity gave no security. Despotie governments, whether the power be in the hands of one or of a multitude, will have a near resemblance of character. The frequent use of the bowstring in Turkey has not prevented the grossest peculation. We find indeed many marks of kindred between the Turkish despotism and the Athenian democracy. It appears to have been a point of policy in the latter, as in the former, to connive at peculation in its servants, to approve tacitly their oppression of its subjects; to wait patiently till the private fortune, thus iniquitously collected, became sufficiently considerable to be a public object, and then to bring the criminal, hitherto the apparent favourite, to judgment, and condemning him to death or banishment, to enrich the treasury with his spoil.

A treatise remains from Xenophon expressly on the improvement of the Athenian REVENUE. The title, with the author's name, cannot fail to excite the modern politician's curiosity; who will however probably find himself at the same time informed, disappointed, and surprised by the contents of the work. Xenophon abandoned Solon's hope of making the Athenian people support themselves by sober industry: were the thing ever practicable, he thought the season past. His object therefore was to provide a revenue, less for public service than for maintaining the whole Athenian people, as the Lacedæmonians lived, in ease and idleness. He could devise no other remedy for domestic evils

arising from the necessary inquietude of sovereign beggars ; no other means to soften that spirit of tyranny in the Athenian people, under which so many subject Grecian states had suffered the severest and most contumelious oppression, the consequences of which had at length brought Athens herself to the brink of annihilation.<sup>6</sup> Taxes therefore, to be paid by Athenian citizens, come scarcely within his view. The Attic silver mines are his great object. The public income from these he would improve by a measure which, at this day, would not find universal approbation. The immoderate proportion of slaves already in the population of Attica, the property of individuals, he would increase by purchasing a number on the public account, to work the mines for public benefit. He then considers the taxes, the customs and market-tolls, and the capitation paid by the metics. These branches of the revenue he would improve by the more liberal policy of giving new privileges and increased security to free foreigners settling in Attica.

The modern reader, less versed in Grecian politics, will then scarcely observe without wonder, that while Xenophon is anxious to increase the number of foreign residents and slaves, the increase of Athenian citizens, the only secure and effective strength of a state, appears totally out of his consideration. But, from all the remaining writers of the age,

<sup>6</sup> Zeunius of Leipzig, who has published a collection of Xenophon's smaller works, supposes the Treatise on the Revenue to have been written during the war which we shall find Athens, in confederacy with Lacedæmon, waging against the Thebans, when Epaminondas was their general. Note, c. 4. s. 40. of Zeunius's edition. That treatise sufficiently marks itself to have been written when Athens was engaged in war, and not so early as the Peloponnesian war ; for the time before the occupying of Decelea by the Lacedæmonians is mentioned in it, (c. 4. s. 25.) as what few living would remember. During which of the various troubles, that afterward afflicted Greece, it may have had its date, is not at all clear ; but evidently enough that conduct of the Athenian government, which produced the war called the Confederate, or Social war, furnished the immediate occasion, the stimulation to write it ; and that conduct was little manifested, as in the sequel we shall have occasion to observe, till after the death of Epaminondas.

we may gather that the spirit of every Grecian government, whether oligarchy or democracy, was generally adverse to the increase of citizens. For every citizen having an interest in a certain public capital, increase of citizens was increase of partners, which would diminish every old proprietor's share. If the Athenian commonwealth had had only two or three thousand citizens, the lands of Attica, cultivated by slaves, with the added produce of the silver mines, might have made all wealthy. But wealth so ill protected would have invited the rapacity of neighbouring people. The combined consideration therefore of the means of subsistence and gratification with the means of defence would decide the degree of population to be desired in a Grecian republic. But unless danger was pressing, the general disposition was always adverse to an increase. The rich disliked it, as any addition to the inhabitants in our parishes is commonly disliked, because there was a poor-law at Athens. The poor objected to it, in apprehension of its diminishing their chance of advantage from sacrifices, from treats to their ward, from pay for attendance on the tribunals, from that public allowance which was often given, not to those who best deserved or most needed it, but to those who could best make interest for it. Altogether, the idea of a common interest in a common stock, a fundamental principle of every Grecian republic, not only made the aversion to any increase

of citizens popular, but gave the ablest politicians  
Plat. de rep. (all considering slaves indispensable) to imagine a necessity for limiting the number of citizens, and to a very scanty proportion.

A very remarkable project, which seems to have been original with Xenophon, next occurs; the establishment of a bank, by subscription<sup>7</sup>, open for all the Athenian people.

<sup>7</sup> The word *Ἀφορμή* appears to mean precisely a *subscription*. It occurs in the 6th, 9th, and 12th sections. The Greek index added to the *Opuscula Xenophontis* of Zeunius may also be consulted for it.

The interest of money, it appears, was enormous at Athens; an unavoidable consequence of the wretched insecurity of person and property. Throughout modern Europe, land is, of all property, esteemed the safest source of income; but in Greece it was held that the surest return was Xenoph. de vectigal. c. 3. s. 9, 10. from money lent at interest. For, in the multiplied division of Greece, into small republics with very narrow territories, the produce of land was continually liable to be carried off or destroyed by an invading enemy: but a monied fortune, according to Xenophon's observation, was safe within the city walls. In proportion then to the interest of money, and the insecurity of all things, the profits of trade will always be high, and thus numbers would be induced to borrow even at a high interest. Xenophon therefore proposed, by lending from the public stock, and encouraging commercial adventure by just regulations, to raise a great revenue, and, by the same means, instead of oppressing, to enrich individuals. As a corollary then to his s. 12, 13. project, when the amount of the subscription, or its profits, might allow, he proposed to improve the ports of Athens, to form wharfs and docks, to erect halls, exchanges, warehouses, market-houses, and inns, for all which tolls or rents should be paid, and to build ships to be let to merchants. Thus, while numbers of individuals were encouraged and enabled to employ themselves for their private benefit, the whole Athenian people would become one great banking company, from whose profits every member, it was expected, would derive at least an easy livelihood.

Such was Xenophon's project for improving, not so much the revenue of the Athenian state, as the condition of the Athenian people, and of all who were in any degree dependent upon them. By taking away the incitements of absolute want, by creating a strong interest in the preservation of peace without, and good government within, he hoped to

make the lower ranks quiet and orderly, and the higher secure, and at the same time to obviate that oppression of allies and subjects, the evils of which had often reverted upon Athens herself. The scheme, whatsoever difficulties or disappointments might have occurred in the execution, appears worthy of Xenophon: but unfortunately, passing his life in exile, his exertions for the good of his country were confined to speculation.

The gross vices of the government and judicature gave birth to that evil which, with the name of SYCOPHANCY, so peculiarly infested Athens. The term originally signified information of the clandestine exportation of figs. Apparently to gratify the idle populace of the city at the expense of the landholders, some demagogue had procured a law forbidding the exportation of that plentiful production of the Attic soil. The absurdity of the prohibition however making the information particularly invidious, the term Sycophant grew into use as a general appellation for all vexatious informers. Such was the encouragement which the Athenian government and judicature afforded for these that sycophancy became a profession, furnishing a livelihood for many. The sycophant courted the lower people, and was the terror and scourge of the rich.

Aristoph.  
Equit. v. 908.  
& 919.

Intimation to a wealthy man, that he would be denounced as able to equip a trireme, or provide a dramatic entertainment, or give a supper to his ward, often sufficed to obtain money for preventing so serious an evil.

Lys. pro  
Polystr. p. 158.  
vel 663. &  
Δημ. καταλυσ.  
ἀπολογ. p. 171.  
vel 762.

But the sycophant's great engine of profit was accusation, whether true or false; though false accusation, we are told, was often preferred, as generally more lucrative.<sup>8</sup> Those various public functions which the wealthy were not allowed to decline, magistracies,

<sup>8</sup> Τούτων γὰρ (τῶν συκοφάντων) ἔργον ἐστὶ καὶ τοὺς μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας εἰς αἰτίαν καθιστάναι. ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα χερματίζειν. Lys. Δημ. καταλυσ. ἀπολογ. p. 171. vel 762.



equipment of ships of war, and presidencies of choral festivals, made opportunities endless. On the expiration of office, the euthyne, a scrutiny before the council, must be undergone. Accusation was then in a manner invited; and if any, however unfounded, was offered, person and property were attached, and remained so till judgment was given. The sycophant was necessarily an Athenian citizen, for no other could denounce; but the evidence of strangers and slaves was admitted, and often preferred; because they might be examined by torture, which was sometimes carried to such inhuman severity that the sufferers died under it. But however little the accusation could be supported, it would always occasion trouble and expense; and any neglect of the fastidious multitude would involve danger. Bribes were necessary to procure dispatch from the officers who directed the business of the courts: an Athenian jury would be solicited for favour, or it would pronounce condemnation; and not by the accusation of Xenophon only, but by the confession of Lysias, the great advocate for democracy, we are assured that, at Athens, equally protection for iniquity might, and justice must, be bought.

A resource which, in this wretched insecurity for innocence under the Athenian government, Socrates recommended and Xenophon approved, may show the extent of the evil. Criton, an Athenian of rank, complained to Socrates (Xenophon says he was present at the conversation) of the severity of their lot in Athens who, as he expresses himself, desired to concern themselves only with their own affairs. "I have a prosecution instituted against me," he said, "by persons whom I never injured, but who think I would rather pay some money than have much trouble." "Do not you keep dogs," said Socrates, "to

Xenoph.  
Athen. resp.  
c. 3. s. 4.

Lys. adv.  
Agorat. p. 135.  
vel 488.

Xenoph.  
Athen. resp.  
c. 13. s. 2. Xen.  
& Plat. apol.  
Socr. & Aristoph.  
Vesp.  
Lys. adv.  
Philocr. p. 181.  
vel 528. & al.

Xen. Mem.  
Socr. l. 2. c. 9.

guard your sheep against wolves?" "Yes," answered Criton. "And could you not engage the friendship of some able man in low circumstances, who, in return for benefits conferred, would make it his business in the same manner to guard you against sycophants?" A friend was fortunately found, able, and faithful. As an advocate however, he could serve his benefactor little; because, in the Athenian courts, the accused was generally required to plead in person. His business was, like that of the sheep-dog, to give security to the fold by attacking the wolf. When Criton was threatened with prosecution, he threatened the accusers; and as their profligacy offered opportunities which Criton's probity denied, in fear of the consequences, they not only stopped their proceedings against Criton, but paid his advocate for similar forbearance toward themselves.

Where such was the best resource that Socrates or Xenophon could devise, we may conceive how precarious was the condition of men of property in Athens.

*Lys. Δημ.  
καταλυσ.  
ἀπολογ. p. 173.  
vel 774.*

Under oligarchy, as we find one of the most zealous partisans of democracy confessing, those might be esteemed good citizens, who did not covet other men's goods; but, under democracy, no man was master of his own; property, person, everything must be devoted, not to the service only, but to the pleasure and fancy of the people. The wealthy were not allowed the choice of leaving Attica, and the constitution positively denied them the choice of quiet there. To execute the

*Xen. Sympos.  
c. 4. s. 30.*

duties of magistracy, to equip a ship of war, to preside at a public feast, to direct a dramatic entertainment, and to furnish, on each occasion, the whole cost, were equally required of all supposed of competent estate. Hence indeed some small mixture of aristocracy remained in the Athenian government. Wealth was the allowed key to office and influence; birth and great connections

*Xen. resp.  
Ath. c. 1. s. 3.*

were not without weight ; commands in the army and navy were seldom given but to men of birth, education, and considerable connections ; and even the council and the college of archons, both indeed open to men without property, but not without passing the scrutiny of the dokimasia, formed some small check upon popular rashness and folly. Hence we find, at intervals, the Athenian affairs so ably conducted ; and while tumult and destruction were preparing within the volcano, the outside bore an appearance so fair and flourishing.<sup>9</sup>

The spirit of tyranny, inherent in the Athenian constitution, and the disregard, upon principle, for property and the convenience and satisfaction of individuals, are very strikingly marked in a regulation which we find had the force of law. When an expensive office, and particularly when the equipment of a trireme, was assessed on any one, he might, for the time, avoid the burthen by indicating a richer man ; and, if the superior wealth was denied, offering to exchange estates. The person Isocrat. de permut. & de pace. so challenged had no alternative but to take upon himself the office, or accept the exchange. The satisfaction, thus, of an Englishman in considering his house and his field more securely his own, under the protection of the law, than a castle defended by its garrison, or a kingdom by its armies, was unknown in Attica. The attachment therefore of an Englishman to the country where such blessings are enjoyed, to the constitution which gives to enjoy them, and to the people who have a common interest in defending them, could not there easily find place. For men of rank and property, excepting the few who could make the popular

<sup>9</sup> Under Solon those of competent estates only were eligible to office. Afterward magistracies were given by lot. Isocr. Areop. p. 108, 109. But Xenophon says all expensive offices were still imposed on the rich : especially choral presidencies, and the command, or the charge of equipment, of ships of war, which seem to have been particularly expensive.

will the instrument of their own ambition, to be satisfied with the Athenian government, was impossible. It was as dangerous to be rich under the Athenian democracy as under the Turkish despotism; the same subterfuges were used to conceal wealth, the same bribery and flattery to preserve it; with this difference principally, that in Athens the flattery was grosser, in proportion to the low condition of the flattered, and their multitude; which so divided the shame, that, equally in receiving adulation and committing iniquity, no man blushed for himself.

Beside the various modes of vexation and oppression to which the higher ranks were subject in their persons and properties, another remained by which their characters were affected. Satire against the people collectively, Xenoph. resp. Ath. c. 2. s. 18. says Xenophon, the people will not allow; but personal satire they encourage; well knowing that, while it is permitted to exhibit the wealthy, the noble, the powerful, to popular derision and indignation, the meaner will escape; or those only will become objects for the poet, who, by aiming at some pre-eminence, separate themselves from the common cause. To what excess that licence went, what gross ribaldry might delight, and what malicious calumny would not disgust an Athenian audience, the remaining comedies of Aristophanes, who could write equally for the highest and lowest ranks, who could be at the same time a consummate politician and a consummate buffoon, abundantly testify.<sup>10</sup> The calm dignity of a Pericles could bear this unmoved: the intriguing ambition of an Alcibiades,

<sup>10</sup> Aristophanes ventured satire upon the people collectively; but it required his courage to dare, and his abilities to succeed in, such an attempt. With regard to his ribaldry, we may observe that something very like it seems to have suited the taste of readers of higher rank than the bulk of the Athenian audiences, in the age of Chaucer, in our own country. In calumny, as abundant remaining testimony evinces, his contemporaries far exceeded him; and indeed in every point, vulgar and gross as his jokes often are, yet among the Athenian comedians he may be considered as a very gentlemanly poet.

exciting poet against poet, and mob against mob, might even profit from it : but the wealthy and noble of more common and quiet characters would often severely feel the apprehension, if it went no farther, of being exposed in effigy, by their proper names, to vulgar scorn upon the public stage, while, in witty dialogue, the most malignant turn was given to every the most innocent or even meritorious action of their lives. Nor were character and public estimation only endangered ; for that turn in the public mind might be prepared in the theatre, and those prejudices against individuals excited, which afterward, in the agora or the tribunals, might produce decrees of confiscation, banishment, or capital condemnation.

In the dialogue remaining from Xenophon, entitled *The Banquet*, an eminent man, reduced by the war from wealth to indigence, is represented positively declaring that he felt his condition improved by the total loss of his property ; “ inasmuch,” he says, “ as cheerfulness and confidence are preferable to constant apprehension, freedom to slavery, being waited upon to waiting upon others, being held an assured good subject to being an object of public suspicion. For,” he continues, “ while I lived a rich man in this city, I had reason to fear the attacks of house-breakers, which with my wealth might endanger my person. I was then under the necessity of courting the sycophants, knowing it was in their power to do me mischief which I could little return. Nevertheless I was continually receiving orders from the people, to undertake some expense for the commonwealth, and I was not allowed to go anywhere out of Attica. But now I have lost all my foreign property, and nothing accrues from my Attic estate, and all my goods are sold, I sleep anywhere fearless ; I am considered as faithful to the government ; I am never threatened with prosecutions, but I have it in my power to make others fear ; as a

free man, I may stay in the country or go out of it, as I please; the rich rise from their seats for me as I approach, and make way for me as I walk: I am now like a tyrant, whereas I was before an absolute slave; and whereas before I paid tribute to the people, now a tribute from the public maintains me."

This picture, though from the pencil of Xenophon, will be likely to strike the modern reader as loaded, and somewhat extravagant. Occurring in a work of fancy, and not in historical narrative, perhaps the writer might claim some licence. Yet we find Isocrates describing the same thing so nearly in the same lines and colours, that the concurrence in representation, which also many other testimonies support, must exclude suspicion of any great extravagance.

Isocr. de pace,  
p. 254. 256.

Under circumstances then such as those of the Athenian republic, the rich and the poor evidently could not live in any harmony. An irritation, incessantly working in the minds of the few against the many, would be irremediable; and, in equally unavoidable consequence, the many would be tormented with an unceasing jealousy of the few; in its foundation sometimes reasonable, but generally in its manner illiberal, and often in its measure excessive. In fact, the balances of Solon's constitution were no sooner overthrown, and sovereign power become absolute in the hands of those without property, or rather in the hands of any demagogue who could, for the moment, lead them, than the interest of all, who had property, placed them necessarily in the situation of conspirators against the existing government. Indeed, throughout Greece, the noble and wealthy, served by their slaves, not only as domestics, but as husbandmen and manufacturers, had little connection with the poorer many, but to command them in the oligarchal states, and, in the democratical, to fear, flatter, solicit, and either deceive or be

commanded by them. No common interest, or scarcely any, united the two descriptions of men; so that, for maintaining civil order and holding the state together, flattery and bribes alone could persuade the multitude, and the only alternative was violence. Hence that impossibility of lasting harmony, and that readiness for extreme discord, so strikingly exhibited among the Grecian republics. What we are familiar with always appears obvious and easy; and hence, having ever before our eyes the equal freedom, security, and ease of all ranks among ourselves, we observe with wonder that the abilities and extensive experience of Xenophon could imagine no remedy for the evils of the Athenian constitution, or none in the practicability of which he had any hope, but in the subjection of the many to arbitrary command, either under the few or under one; and the genius of Plato, in earnest research after better political principles, could even in vision propose benefit only to a very small portion of mankind.<sup>11</sup>

Xen. Ath.  
resp. c. 1.  
s. 1—9. c. 2.  
s. 19, 20. c. 3.  
s. 9, 10, 11.  
et Cyropæd.  
Plat. de rep.

Where the constitution is such that all ranks have a clear interest in its preservation, where every man's house is his castle, where the property of the rich and the persons and honest earnings of the poor are equally protected by law, and the hope of rising to a higher station is denied to none, there the law of TREASON may be mild. But no mild law, no common precaution, could give security to a constitution

<sup>11</sup> 'Εν οὐδεμίᾳ γὰρ πόλει τὸ βέλτιστον εὐνοῦν ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἀλλὰ τὸ κακίστον ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει εὐνοῦν τῷ δήμῳ· οἱ γὰρ ὅμοιοι τοῖς ὁμοίαις εὐνοίῃσι. Xen. Athen. resp. c. 3. s. 10. Xenophon esteemed the evils of the Athenian constitution irremediable, because, necessarily flowing from the sovereignty of the people, and to be checked only by putting such a curb on that sovereignty as, in the nature of things, would lead to its complete overthrow. He seems to have supposed it impossible so to constitute a balanced government as to give it permanency: the people at large, he thought, must either command absolutely or obey implicitly. And for any experience that history to this day furnishes, perhaps he was right: perhaps a balanced government cannot be at once constituted: it must grow.

like the Athenian. The law of treason accordingly, at Athens, was conceived in the highest spirit of despotism ; it was atrocious. Before the council-hall stood a column, on which was thus engraved : “ Whoever shall overthrow the democracy, or hold any magistracy in Athens when the democracy shall be overthrown, may be lawfully killed by any one : the person killing him shall be held holy before the gods and meritorious among men ; and shall be rewarded with the whole property of the person killed.” The same principle of committing public justice to the discretion of individuals was pushed yet farther in the following oath, which was required of every Athenian : “ I will kill with my own hand, if I am able, whoever shall overthrow the democracy ; and if any hold office under any other government, I will esteem holy before the gods whoever shall kill him. Whoever may lose his life in killing or attempting to kill such person, I will befriend his children and their offspring, as I would Harmodius and Aristogiton. Whatever oath may be taken, adverse to the democratical authority, I abjure and hold as nothing.” Prayers and imprecations were added, for blessings on all who maintained this oath, and utter destruction to those and the race of those who should break it.

It is observed by Aristotle, that democracy and tyranny are, of all governments, most hostile to each other, as, according to Hesiod’s proverb, two of a trade never agree : for, he adds, absolute DEMOCRACY is TYRANNY.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Ἐναντίαι δ’ αἱ πολιτεῖαι Δῆμος μὲν Τυραννίδι, καὶ Ἡσιόδον, Ὡς περ αὖ κεραμεὺς καὶ γὰρ ἡ Δημοκρατία ἡ τελευταία Τυραννὶς ἐστὶ. Aristot. Polit. l. 5. c. 10.



## SECTION III.

*First Measures of the Supreme Council of Thirty at Athens. — Views of the Thirty. — Critias. — Theramenes. — Violences of the Thirty. — Death of Theramenes.*

SUCH was the state of the Athenian government nearly, from the death of Pericles till it submitted to the victorious arms of the Peloponnesians. The fate then of a fallen city, deprived of command beyond its own narrow territory, and allowed to exist only under the control of a foreign power, it might seem would scarcely invite much of our farther attention. But Athens, after all her losses and with all her failings, has peculiar claim upon the curiosity and respect of men. In her fallen state she retained the germ of the sublimest philosophy, of all science, and of every liberal art: Socrates, Xenophon, and Plato still lived within her walls; Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, and Conon, though in exile, adorned the list of her citizens; and she could still be the prolific mother and the able preceptress of artists, poets, warriors, orators, statesmen, and sages, who made their age the most brilliant in the annals of mankind, and through whom, when her political importance ceased, Athens continued, and may be said in some degree still to continue, to hold an empire among all the civilised nations of the earth.<sup>13</sup> Nor was her political importance yet so far beyond recovery but that she became again a principal channel of Grecian history's multifarious stream.

After the view we have taken of the Athenian constitution, we shall not wonder if men of rank and property desired at

<sup>13</sup> Tully's eulogies of Athens are well known:—"Illas omnium doctrinarum inventrices Athenas." Cic. de Orat. l. 1. s. 4.—"Unde humanitas, doctrina, religio, fruges, jura, leges ortæ atque in omnes terras distributæ putantur." Cic. Or. pro L. Flacco, s. 26. And that of Velleius Paterculus, "Adeo ut corpora gentis illius separata sint in alias civitates; ingenia vero solis Atheniensium muris clausa existimes." Vel. Pat. l. 1. c. 18.

any rate a change; nor can we impute it to any peculiar depravity, if they bore some antipathy toward the body of the lower people, from whom they suffered such oppression. Even the most moderate might look, not without some indignation, upon that imperious "crowd of fullers, shoemakers, carpenters, braziers, dealers of all kinds," I use the con-

Xen. Mem.  
Socr. l. 3.  
c. 7. s. 6.

temporary philosopher's words, "the great object of whose lives was to buy cheap and sell dear,"

whose despotic will nevertheless dispensed public and private law, directed the administration of the commonwealth, sent out fleets and armies, disposed of the lives and fortunes of individuals at home, and decided by a vote the fate of whole cities abroad, "while some of them, not worth a drachma," they are again Xenophon's words, "were ready to sell their country with all in it, that they might have a drachma." Accordingly, when Athens was invested by the Peloponnesian forces, and no prospect of successful resistance remained, many of those of higher rank saw, or thought they saw, means of mending their condition in the approaching wreck of the state. Through this opposition of interests among the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians proposed to hold Attica in subjection, without the expense of garrisons; and thus they were induced to grant terms; to leave the town with walls and a citadel; to restore the whole territory; and even out of the captive fleet to allow twelve ships of war to the vanquished. The Athenian people had never treated a conquered city so mildly. But the Lacedæmonians depended upon the aristocratical party among the Athenians themselves as a faithful garrison, bound, by the most pressing interests, to hold all in subordination to Lacedæmon.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> The assertions of Lysias, in his orations against Eratosthenes and Agoratus, that the Lacedæmonians would have granted better terms, but that Theramenes prevented, scarcely need the testimony of Xenophon to refute them. They are obviously mere calumnies; not proposed to the reason, but to the thoughtlessness and passion, of the multitude to which they were addressed.

On the surrender of the city then that vicious government, which has been described, was dissolved, and the supreme power of the Athenian state was committed to a Council composed of Thirty Athenians, chosen by the conquerors out of the aristocratical party, and all of them formerly members of that Council of Fourhundred, which had been established by Pisander. The first measures of this council were moderate and wise. Vested with full powers to new-model the whole fabric of the ancient constitution at their pleasure, with exception only for any thing adverse to the superintending authority of Lacedæmon, they avoided all great and hasty changes which their situation did not indispensably require. The Laws, farther than what fell necessarily with the abolition of the popular sovereignty, and the commission of the supreme power to the Thirty, remained in force: all the ancient magistracies, care being taken to fill them with friends of the Thirty, were retained: the civil administration therefore, under the Thirty instead of the Fivehundred, proceeded in the accustomed course. A new supreme court of judicature only was established, with the title of The Council.

B. C. 404.  
Ol. 94. 1.  
Xenoph. Hel.  
1. 2. c. 3. s. 8.

Matters being so far arranged, orders were given for immediately apprehending all who, under the democracy, had exercised the abominable trade of sycophancy. The evils of that practice were so gross, so extensively dreaded, and under popular sovereignty so irremediable, that, when every one prosecuted by the Thirty was condemned by the obsequious council, and executed, none, says the contemporary historian, not obnoxious to the charge, were dissatisfied with this arbitrary justice.

The wrongs however of the higher orders being so far

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Xenophon's account is confirmed in clear and direct terms by Isocrates, in his oration on peace, p. 220. ed. Auger.

avenged, the hope was generally entertained that animosity would stop, and that the Thirty, proceeding with proper dispatch in their great business of legislation, would let the people know under what form of government, and subject to what laws, they were to live and might be safe. With this hope well-meaning men in general were easy: indeed hope was rather high among them; for, though successive demagogues had wretchedly degraded the ancient Athenian constitution, yet, if there existed in Greece a good foundation for a good government, it seems to have been in the laws, customs, and habits of Athens derived from the institutions of Theseus and Solon. That excellent principle of the English constitution, the only one on which a free government can be firmly founded, that the aggregate of private good constitutes public good, and its corollary, that the rights of individuals, once established by law, should be ever held sacred, seems to have been a principle of Theseus's kingdom and Solon's republic. But a different principle obtained very generally among the Grecian Commonwealths; an ideal public good, distinct from and often opposite to private good. It was carried into practice with best effect by Lycurgus, and can only be carried into practice with any good effect where, as in Lacedæmon, a communion of interest was established for everything, and private property scarcely existed. The brilliant success of his singular system gave reputation to this principle, and party-leaders readily adopted it everywhere; for the good of their party was that to which alone they would allow the title of public good, and to this it was very convenient for them that every private interest should yield. The peaceful then and the quiet, who desired, not political power, but ease and security under civil order, were the only certain sufferers. The great defect of the constitutions of Theseus and Solon was the want of another principle, spread extensively over modern Europe

through the feudal system, though not an original part of that system, the principle of representation. The advantage of this is not merely that a great nation can do conveniently by its representatives what even a small one cannot by its assembled numbers, but, farther, that responsibility may be attached to every constituted authority; by which alone, whatever the name or form of the government may be, real despotism can be obviated. In the want of this, the Grecian legislators were utterly at a loss to give secure liberty to the body of the people, without giving them despotic power. It may be held for certain that those are either not wise or not honest men, who pretend that political and legislative science is easy and obvious. The writings of the ablest of the Greeks, showing how deficient they were in it, abundantly show its difficulties; and the history of all nations will demonstrate by what slow steps and what accidental circumstances any perfection in government has been attained. The works of Plato and Xenophon should be read to form a just idea of the imperfection of the science in their time, and of their small ability to improve it; and then it may in some degree be conceived what were the difficulties under which, even had they had the purest intentions, the sincerest desire of public good, the Thirty must have had to encounter, in reforming the constitution of Athens.

Xen. resp.  
 Athen.

But in addition to the difficulties always and everywhere existing, the peculiar circumstances of Athens at the time, obviating perhaps some considerable inconveniences, gave rise to many others. The controlling power of Lacedæmon would be necessarily invidious to those for whom the new rulers were to legislate; and yet much consideration for that controlling power would be, in their situation, unavoidable. Moreover the chance of future tranquillity for Greece, concord within itself and power to resist other nations, de-

pended absolutely upon friendly and intimate connection between Athens and Lacedæmon. Of the changes then which Athens had suffered, by the event of the war, some would be favourable to that concord and that power, but some far otherwise. Private distresses among all ranks were numerous and great. The loss of property in the foreign territories of the commonwealth had reduced several from affluence to want; and want such as to make them dependent upon what may be called the poor-laws of Athens, even for subsistence. The abolition of means, formerly ready, for making interest of money at home, also annihilated income for many. The advantages of military command then were lost for the higher ranks, reward of service for the lower, and the various profits of the equipment of fleets and armies for all: public revenue no longer flowed from numerous tributary states: neither the public treasury nor the wealth of individuals could, as formerly, provide gratifications for the people: the citizens of numerous subject republics were no longer amenable to Athenian tribunals: multitudes, accustomed to fight and to judge, and to feast at sacrifices, and to be amused, but not to work, were without income, without employment, and without victuals: the court and the flattery, and the pay and the bribes, to which the Athenian people were accustomed, had all ceased together. The territory of Attica was again the quiet property of those who could ascertain their claims to land, which had been for so many years commanded or liable to be overrun by a hostile force. But the time when the country-houses of landed men of Attica were superior to those of the city, landed men having a disposition to live on their estates rather than in Athens, and the parties of the Attic people were distinguished as those of the highlands, the lowlands, and the coast, was gone by, never to return. It was twenty-seven

Xen. Mem.  
 Socr. 1. 2. c. 8.  
 s. 1.

c. 7. s. 2.

years since any had been born to the habits of a country life. Attica was committed to slaves, and the republic, from the time of the desertion of the country in the first year of the war, existed only in Athens.<sup>15</sup>

Such were the circumstances in which the council of Thirty entered, with absolute authority, upon the administration. Whether by appointment of the Lacedæmonians, or by election of the council itself, Critias pre-  
Plat. Charmid. p. 154. t. 2.  
 sided; a man, by every advantage of birth, fortune, connections, talents, and education, pointed out for the arduous office. His paternal great-grandfather was brother of the great lawgiver Solon; and, what should have been a more solid advantage, he had been himself a diligent hearer of Socrates. But the Athenian democracy, denying ease and security, not only incited ambition and avarice, but stimulated the pride of nobility and wealth. Xenoph. Mem. Socr. l. 1. c. 2. s. 12—25.  
 Xenophon describes Critias, whom he knew well as his fellow-disciple, vain of his illustrious birth and large inheritance, elated with the possession of power and influence, and with the court and adulation ensuing, and then soured by a banishment which he had suffered from a decree of the people. Thenceforward Critias conceived a vehement aversion to the popular cause, and his pride and ambition became stimulated by indignation and revenge.

But, among the members of this council, the man most distinguished in high office and in party measures was Theramenes son of Agnon; whom we have already seen a leader in one revolution which abolished, and in another which restored, the sovereignty of the popular assembly. He engaged now in this third revolution, under the patronage of Lacedæmon, with a disposition and views widely differing

<sup>15</sup> So far the same state of things appears to have continued in Attica to this day. Greeks live only in the city; the lands are held and cultivated wholly by Albanians.

from those of Critias. His family, though noble, had been popular. His father, Agnon, founder of Amphipolis, had been a distinguished favourite of the people : and however Theramenes himself might, with all reasonable men, dislike the sovereignty of the multitude, yet, possessing an inherited family interest among the people, and talents to cultivate it, he loved popularity. In reforming the government therefore it was not his purpose to oppress the people. He seems rather to have proposed to restore, under sanction of the stronger means now possessed by the Thirty, that mixed government, which, upon the overthrow of the Fourhundred, he had framed, but could not support, and which we find so highly commended, but so little explained, by Thucydides.

Ch. 19. s. 7.  
of this Hist.

The project of Critias, not altogether new in Greece, was however such as had not been executed, nor perhaps attempted, upon so extensive a scale. The habit of having all laborious offices performed by slaves gave to conceive that the existence of the lower orders of freemen might be dispensed with ; and made that possible and even obvious in Greece, which, in modern Europe, could neither be executed, nor scarcely imagined. Critias would allow no mixture of popular folly and insolence in power ; he would remove as far as possible the danger of having the democratical law of treason restored, and put in execution against himself. He would abandon all hope of the glory of presiding over a powerful independent state, to have ease and affluence in a subordinate command. He proposed therefore, under the protecting authority of Lacedæmon, to be lord of Athens ; he would make the city and its whole territory the private property of himself and a few associates ; allowing no more of the Athenian people to remain within the country than, with Lacedæmonian assistance, might be held in complete subserviency : possibly however hoping that, through a



coalition of the Athenian and Lacedæmonian governments, his power might be extended beyond Attica.

With these extravagant and nefarious views, which it could not be prudent immediately to declare, Critias, in the outset, courted Theramenes ; and, for a short time, there was the appearance of perfect harmony between them. Soon however differences arose, but still Critias maintained a show of deference for his colleague. Xen. Hel. 1. 2. c. 3. s. 11.

Meanwhile among the rest of the Thirty he made his party secure. No eminence of character there moved his envy ; no superior talents excited his apprehension ; no firmness of principle, in any amount likely to be prevalent, thwarted his purposes. Concert then being established among them, the abilities, and yet more the popularity of Theramenes, became suspicious to all. For security against their effects, it was resolved to solicit an armed force from Lacedæmon. Theramenes, not yet aware that he was himself the object, in vain remonstrated ; the resolution passed, and s. 18. Æschines and Aristoteles, two of the Thirty ; were deputed to Sparta, authorised to engage that the Athenian treasury should furnish pay for the troops desired. A force for holding Athens in obedience, and to be paid for doing so, was not likely to be denied. A body of Lacedæmonians was sent ; and Callibius, their commander, with the title of Harmost, meaning regulator, (which the Lacedæmonians affected for those to whom they committed really the command, as governors, of Grecian cities,) took his residence in the citadel of Athens, with his troops as its garrison.

Confident now of means to overbear opposition, Critias no longer kept measures with any, whether of the democratical or oligarchal interest, whom he suspected of inclination, with power, to thwart his designs : but he began to consider some of the oligarchal party, whom it was in the

general policy of Lacedæmon to raise to power, as more dangerous opponents than any in the democratical interest, now sufficiently depressed. From the first arrival of the Lacedæmonians, he was sedulous in attention to the harmony; and by the show of much deference obtained the effectual command of him. Callibius,\* under pretence, or perhaps in the belief, that the interest of Lacedæmon so required, issued orders as Critias instigated; and the Lacedæmonian soldiers were employed to apprehend whomsoever the Thirty denounced. Prosecution was no longer then confined to sycophants, and men notoriously turbulent or infamous, but extended to characters the most irreproachable. Some forms of legal process were observed, and those of the old constitution were mostly retained; but whomsoever the Thirty accused the obsequious council never failed to condemn, and deliver to the executioner.

Xen. Hel. 1. 2.  
c. 3. s. 12:

Such proceedings excited astonishment with alarm among all ranks. What could be the motive, and where the end of them, and what the form of government at length to be established, were the anxious subjects of general wonder and inquiry. Theramenes himself, surprised as dissatisfied, while Critias yet maintained a decent exterior toward him, remonstrated among his colleagues on the impolicy of their measures: "Without some party among the people," he said, "no oligarchy could stand: but alarm and offence were now extended to all parties." The admonition was taken, but not as Theramenes intended. Nothing the majority of the Thirty, under the influence of Critias, so much still feared as the popularity of Theramenes himself. To obviate its efficacy, they hastened the publication of a catalogue of three thousand citizens of their own selection, who should partake of the sovereign power in common

Xen. *ibid.*

assembly, and be competent for magistracy.<sup>16</sup> All other Athenians were reduced to the condition of subjects, not to the Threethousand only, but the Thirty, whose sovereignty over them was declared absolute.

Theramenes again remonstrated : “ Their faith was pledged,” he said, “ by their former declarations, that only those, but all those, should share in the government, whose education might give the necessary knowledge, and whose property would afford means to allot leisure for its functions. Pay for attending the general assembly or the courts of justice it had been agreed should no longer be allowed. But three thousand men, as if there were some virtue in the number, had been arbitrarily chosen, without any attention to the proposed qualifications; and all other Athenians were as arbitrarily deprived of the rights of citizens. The imprudence was equal to the injustice of the measure : violence only could support it ; and the force of those who were to command was inferior to that of those who were to be held in subserviency.” This admonition also was taken, but, like the former, very differently from the monitor’s intention. A review of arms was ordered ; of the Threethousand in one place ; of the other citizens in another. The avenues to the latter were occupied by the confidential adherents of the Thirty, supported by the Lacedæmonian troops. The arms of the citizens, not of the catalogue, were taken from them as they passed, and being carried to the temple of Minerva in the citadel, were committed to the care of the Lacedæmonian garrison.

Effectual opposition being thus obviated, the Thirty proceeded with a shamelessness in crime, for which, after all we have seen of crime in Grecian history, could he be suspected of “partiality for the democratical cause, we should

<sup>16</sup> Thus I think the phrase *μετέξοντας τῶν πραγμάτων* may best be interpreted.

with difficulty believe the express testimony even of Xenophon. The credit of his account however, strong as his authority is, does not rest on his single authority. We find it supported by two other contemporary writers; one his decided adversary in politics, the other not his friend, Lysias and Plato. From their united evidence we learn, that the most abominable policy guided the measures now pursued. Revenge and avarice had their full sway: many suffered death for private enmities; many merely for their wealth. Every eminent man was either to be destroyed or gained: but as means were wanting to attach a sufficient number by favours, the infernal expedient was practised of forcing men to a community of interest through a participation in crime. Driven by terror to execute tyrannical orders, they became involved in the same guilt, and obnoxious to the same resentment, and thus theirs and that of the Thirty became a common cause.<sup>17</sup>

Amid numerous enormities the death of three men, the most eminent of the commonwealth, and all notoriously attached to the oligarchal interest, particularly excited general wonder and alarm. Of Niceratus, son of the rich and worthy Nicias, who perished at Syracuse, it was said that he inherited the aristocratical spirit; neither father nor son, by any one action or word, having ever favoured democracy. The able advice and powerful eloquence of Antiphon had served so many individuals, while the free expenditure of his private fortune in public service, during the war, had acquired him such reputation for public spirit, that he was in favour with all parties, though his whole political conduct had been directed to promote aristocracy. Leon of Salamis, amid the turbulence and crimes of his age and country, had

Xen. Hel. 1. 2.  
c. 3. s. 15.  
Lys. con. Agor.  
rat. p. 133.  
vel 470.  
Xen. ut sup.

<sup>17</sup> Οἷα δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐκεῖνοι πολλοῖς πολλὰ προσέταττον, βουλόμενοι ὡς πλείστους ἀναπλῆσαι αἰτιῶν. Plat. apol. Socr. p. 32. t. 1.

been eminent for his blameless life. The monster Critias proposed to involve his master Socrates in the odium of the execution of so excellent a man. A message from the Thirty required the attendance of Socrates, with four others. Critias himself gave the order for them to go to Salamis, to apprehend Leon, and bring him to Athens. This order, knowing its purpose, and holding it contrary to law, Socrates disobeyed. The other four, less scrupulous or less courageous, performed it. To be apprehended and to be condemned were nearly the same; Leon, Niceratus, and Antiphon were all delivered to the executioner.

Plat. apol.  
 Socrat. p. 32.  
 t. 1.

Numerous as the executions of men of property had been, the confiscation ensuing did not suffice to supply the deficiencies of the public revenue, so curtailed by the event of the war, for public purposes, and at the same time to furnish the rewards claimed by the forward adherents of the Thirty. Money was wanting to pay the Lacedæmonian troops in the citadel. The metics were thought the best resource. Much of the commerce and manufactures of Athens was in their hands: many were wealthy; and the oppression, which had been successfully dared against the first of the Athenians, might be exercised, it was hoped, against aliens with less noise, and no hazard. Some symptoms of disaffection toward the ruling powers were made the pretence; and it was resolved to accuse eight of the richest, to whom, as a blind, were added two in indigent circumstances.

Xen. Hel. 1. 2.  
 c. 3. s. 15.

The orator Lysias, from whom we have the detail, was of the order of metics, and among the sufferers. His father, Cephalus, was a Syracusan, whom faction in his own city had driven to migrate with a large fortune to Attica, when the able administration of Pericles, in aid of what remained of Solon's laws, made Attica the

Lys. con.  
 Eratosth.

most desirable residence in Greece. He had enjoyed the friendship of Pericles and of Socrates; and his house in Piræus is the supposed scene of those dialogues so celebrated under the title of Plato's Republic. Lysias had gone a boy to Italy, with the historian Herodotus, when, under the patronage of Pericles, the colony of Thurium was settled on the ruins of Sybaris. There he had lived above thirty years when, by the defeat in Sicily, the Athenian interest in those parts was overthrown, and Thurium was no longer a safe residence for men of property, who would not accept or could not obtain Lacedæmonian protection. Lysias, collecting whatever he could carry, returned to Athens; where, in partnership with Polemarchus his brother, a manufactory of shields, in which above a hundred slaves were employed, still gave him affluence.

He was, as he relates, entertaining some strangers at supper, when some of the Thirty entered, commanded the guests to withdraw, and himself to remain their prisoner. Committing him then to the care of Piso, one of their number, they proceeded to take account of his effects, of which the slaves were a principal part. He meanwhile, fearing for his life, tampered with his keeper; and, for a bribe of a talent, obtained a promise of safety: but to pay the money, being obliged to open a chest, in which were more than three talents in silver, above seven hundred pounds sterling, with Cyzicenes and Darics, the gold coins then most current in Greece<sup>18</sup>, to the amount of near five hundred pounds more, Piso seized the whole. Remonstrance was vain, but the admonition was salutary to Lysias. Watching opportunity, while the Thirty were still occupied in pillage, he found means to escape, and hastening to Piræus, proceeded

<sup>18</sup> The Cyzicene, named from the city of Cyzicus in the Propontis, was in value about a pound sterling; the Daric, a Persian coin, about fifteen shillings.

thence by sea to Megara. His brother, Polemarchus, less provident or less fortunate, was carried to the common prison. Melobius, one of the Thirty, tore from his wife's ears the golden rings she wore. All the property of both the brothers was confiscated. Polemarchus, in pursuance of a simple order from the Thirty, was executed, in the Athenian manner, by a draught of hemlock. His body was not denied to his friends for burial; it would have been bootless impiety; but clothes for it, solicited from his large wardrobe, and an apartment in one of three houses of the family, for the preparation of the funeral, were refused.

Such are the circumstances related by Lysias himself. We shall receive the account with caution, as from an orator, famed for the talent of giving falsehood the air of truth, and, on this occasion, not merely pleading a cause, but the cause of his own revenge, and avowing his purpose to inflame the multitude who were to judge it.<sup>19</sup> The testimony of Xenophon however seems to show that the whole detail might be nearly true<sup>20</sup>, and indeed, had not the conduct of some of the Thirty been marked with peculiar atrocity in this transaction, had there not been something in it particularly shocking to the general feelings and prejudices of the Athenian people, Theramenes would scarcely have taken up the proceedings against metics, rather than those against citizens, for the ground of increased vehemence in opposition to his

Dion. Hal. vit.  
Lys. p. 196.  
t. 6. or. Gr.  
Reisk.

<sup>19</sup> Ὁργίσθητε μὲν, ὥσπερ ὅτ' ἐφείγετε. Which may be expressed faithfully, though paraphrastically, thus: Let the anger and indignation which you felt, when injuriously driven into banishment, now revive in your minds.

<sup>20</sup> Demosthenes (or. in Androt. & or. con. Timocr.) has said that under the tyranny of the Thirty no man was taken from his house. On this the learned Markland, in a note on the oration of Lysias against Eratosthenes, observes, "that Lysias is rather to be believed of what himself experienced; unless some distinction can be found." The distinction seems obvious: Demosthenes probably meant to speak only of citizens; Lysias was not then a citizen. The matter is of consequence only that the faith of history be not unduly made questionable: more than enough will always remain uncertain.

Xen. Hel. 1. 2.  
c. 3. s. 16. colleagues. He was now so direct and severe in blame of their measures as to give them serious alarm. Their safety and his it was indeed evident were become incompatible; and they resolved that he should himself be the next prosecuted.

But the council of Judicature, though thus far obsequious to their views, was not yet duly prepared for their purpose against Theramenes. Measures therefore were to be taken to make it their instrument for his destruction. Some of the members they could command: they endeavoured to persuade some, to alarm others. Matters being arranged with those in whom they could best confide, the council was summoned. A body of men with concealed arms surrounded the hall while the Thirty were sitting, and

s. 17. Theramenes in his place among them. Critias then rising accused him, in a set speech, of meditated treason against the existing government. Stating no facts amounting to treason by any known law, he argued rather as a conspirator to his accomplices than a public accuser before a court of justice; contending, not on the ground of public law, but only of convenience for the party, that the accused should be capitally condemned.

Theramenes, eloquent, and practised in those difficult and dangerous situations which require, with a firm mind, the readiest exertion of great powers, adapted his defence ably to the existing circumstances. To have asserted, as before a just judicature, the right and the duty of a public man, in his place in council, to declare his opinion on public matters (which almost alone had been imputed to him), he knew would be at least useless, and perhaps injurious. He therefore addressed himself rather to the fears and feelings, than  
s. 18, 19. to the conscience and justice of his judges; and he so demonstrated the expediency of the measures which he had always recommended, and not only the



iniquity, but the danger of those pursued by Critias, that he disposed a majority of the council in his favour.

The moment was critical. Critias was aware that his own ruin could now scarcely fail to follow the miscarriage of his purpose against Theramenes. After short communication with the Thirty, he went out and directed his armed attendants to show themselves. Returning then, he addressed the council thus: "I esteem it a duty of my station" (he was president of the Thirty) "to prevent those acting under me in the administration from being deceived and misled. I shall therefore take upon myself to do what the present emergency requires. The crowd, at your doors, have declared they will not rest under the acquittal of one, whose known purpose is the overthrow of the oligarchy. In the new code it is enacted that the citizens of the catalogue shall be liable to capital punishment only from the judgment of the council; but over all others the authority of the Thirty is absolute. I therefore, confident of your unanimous approbation, strike the name of Theramenes from the catalogue, and we, the Thirty, condemn him to death."

Xen. Hel. 1. 2.  
c. 3. s. 20.

To Athenians, familiar, under their democracy, with the most anomalous and tyrannical measures of government, these proceedings were not astonishing and shocking, as they would be among those accustomed to the better political order of modern Europe, and especially of England. No opposition was made to them, either among the Thirty or by the council. Theramenes saw that his destruction was resolved, and instantly had recourse to what alone seemed to afford a chance for safety. He sprang to the altar, (for, among the Greeks, every council-hall had its altar,) and thence claimed the protection of a law so lately made, which Critias was proposing so grossly to violate. "As for this altar," he said, "I know its sacredness will

s. 21.

not protect me; but I will at least show that the impiety of those men is equal to their injustice. Yet I cannot but wonder that you, councillors, men of rank and high worth, will not assert your own cause: for the name of any of you may be erased from the catalogue with as little ceremony as mine."

The herald of the Thirty had been dispatched to command the attendance of those high officers of justice called the Eleven, who were already gained to the views of Critias. They entered the council-hall with their usual attendants, while Theramenes was still speaking from the altar. Critias immediately told them that Theramenes had been condemned to death according to law; and commanded them to do what in consequence became their duty. In vain Thera-

Lys. Or. con.  
Nicom. p.  
847. & 850.

menes alleged illegality and impiety. The council, awed by those around the hall, now known to be armed, was passive, while Satyrus, a man of ability, versed in high office and leading situations, but whom Xenophon describes as the most profligate as well as the most daring of the Eleven, set the example for laying hands on Theramenes, dragged him from the altar, and hurried him away to the prison. Boldly, or perhaps incautiously, as the nearest way, he passed through the agora. Theramenes, with exerted voice, endeavoured to excite the

Xen. Hel. 1. 2.  
c. 3. s. 21.

people in his favour. Exasperated by this, "If you speak again," said Satyrus, "I will make you groan." "And had I said nothing," replied Theramenes, "should I escape groaning?" The people, prepared to

M. T. Cic.  
Tusc. 1. 1.  
s. 40.

fear, and not to resist, made no stir. In the prison, the deadly potion being brought, Theramenes drank it with a serene countenance, and then, tinkling the reversed cup, (the Grecian custom at banquets, in passing the cup to another,) as a remaining drop fell, "This libation," he said, "is for the worthy Critias." "Such par-

ticalars," says the contemporary historian, "are, Xen. ut supra. I am aware, of little worth in themselves; yet what they prove of Theramenes I think deserving admiration, that neither readiness nor pleasantry forsook him, even with immediate death impending."

## SECTION IV.

*Farther Violence of the Thirty. — Measures of Thrasybulus against the Thirty. — Piræus occupied by the Athenian Refugees under Thrasybulus. — Death of Critias. — The Thirty deposed, and a supreme Council of Ten elected. — Interference of Lacedæmon. — The Athenian Democracy restored.*

THE concurrent testimony of contemporary writers of different parties assures us that, under the democracy, after it became absolute, the principal road to the honours of the Athenian state was through bribery to the people, in various ways administered. A military officer, soliciting Xen. Mem. Socr. l. 1. c. 4. init. a command, would to little purpose relate the length and variety of his service, or the wounds he had received in it, if his competitor had been more magnificent in theatrical exhibitions. An orator, defending his Lys. ἀπολογία. δωροδοκ. p. 161. vel 697. client under criminal prosecution, considered the expenses of that client for the people's amusement of more importance to enumerate than any military or naval merits; or, if he was conducting a criminal prosecution, he would not omit to detail the theatrical exhibitions with which his own family had entertained the people, in the hope, by so recommending himself, the more efficaciously to urge the condemnation of his enemy. Under every view then of the circumstances it will appear evident that bribery, high bribery, would be absolutely necessary to the Thirty, for keeping the Threethousand of their catalogue firm to their party. To mark, on all occasions, the most pointed par-

tiality for them, to give them the most decided pre-eminence, and, on the other hand, to take the strongest precautions against those not of the catalogue, was indispensable. But the necessity of bribing high would carry with it the necessity of increased violences, and new crimes. For these the execution of Theramenes had been a preparatory step. That able leader being removed, measures the most violent and injurious against the multitude, already deprived of

arms, were no longer scrupled. Lands and country-houses were seized for the benefit of the Thirty and their adherents, and shortly an order was issued for all not of the catalogue to quit Athens. The greater part took refuge in Piræus; but the jealousy of their oppressors did not allow them to remain long there. Fortunately the ruling party in the neighbouring city of Megara, being democratical, was friendly to their cause; and some revolution, of which no satisfactory account remains, had so altered things in the larger and more powerful city of Thebes, long the most virulent enemy of democracy and of Athens, that there also a disposition favourable to them prevailed. Thebes accordingly and Megara became crowded with Athenian fugitives.<sup>21</sup>

Xen. Hel. l. 2.  
c. 4. s. 1.  
Lys. Or. 25.  
Δημ.  
καταλυσ.  
ἀπολογ. p. 173.  
vel 776.

<sup>21</sup> If, in pursuing the course of Athenian affairs, the reader carries in his recollection the progress of the French revolution, he cannot fail to be struck with the many points of resemblance between the proceedings of the Thirty in Athens, with its Council of Judicature, and of the Committee of Public Welfare in Paris, with its Revolutionary Tribunal; and the consideration is not unimportant to Grecian history, inasmuch as it restores evident probability to the accounts of enormities which, however well attested, the desuetude of modern times, in the order of things established in even the worst of European governments, had rendered, till new example arose, almost incredible. And here the similitude between what in France is called democracy, and what in Greece was esteemed an oligarchy, will become striking. Their character, as it stands marked by their conduct, has hardly a difference; and thus it may appear that, with allowance for that latitude of expression which poetry may claim, Pope is right where he has said,

“For forms of government let fools contest;  
Whate’er is best administer’d is best.”

Among those whom the tyranny of the Thirty Xen. Hel. l. 2. c. 4. s. 2. had early driven to seek safety in banishment was Thrasybulus son of Lycus, already known for many important services to his country. Thrasybulus, residing in Bœotia, was rather watching for movements within Athens favourable to his views, than hoping to see a multitude driven to join him in exile, such as might form a force sufficient to assail the tyrants from without. On the accumulation of fugitives in Thebes he quickly decided his plan. It was toward midwinter, and scarcely six months after the establishment of the Thirty, when with only about seventy heavy-armed he seized Phyle, an Attic fortress near the Bœotian border.

Such an enterprise might bear, on first view, the appearance of imprudent haste and rash adventure. It gave little alarm to the Thirty, who trusted that they could easily prevent depredation on the neighbouring lands, which alone they thought threatened, by marching immediately against the little garrison. Phyle was scarcely more than twelve miles from Athens. Reaching it therefore early in the day, they directly led their forces to assault, but with the ill success which, in that age, so commonly attended the attack of walls. In their hurry, for so small a distance, and against an enemy supposed little able to resist them, they had

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The phrase indeed, without a comment, is hazardous, yet it may be creditably explained thus: "The form of a government, merely as it gives a claim to this or that title, democracy, aristocracy, monarchy, signifies little. That is really the best government, which is so constituted, in whatever form, as most to insure a just administration." But this cannot be absolute monarchy; for there all must depend upon the accidental character of the reigning prince: it cannot be democracy; for there the popular passion, which interested demagogues may in the moment excite, or the exertions, not even of the most numerous, but of the most turbulent and least scrupulous party, will decide every thing: it cannot be oligarchy, or what is vulgarly called aristocracy; for there a part of the people has an interest separate from the rest: it can only be a government so mixed and balanced that it may have strength to restrain popular folly and popular injustice, without being strong enough to support its own injustice or folly.

omitted to bring tents and camp-equipage. Nevertheless the weather being, for the season, fine, though  
Xen. Hel. 1. 2.  
C. 4. §. 3. among the highlands, they resolved to remain before the place and immediately begin a contravallation. That same night a heavy fall of snow so distressed them that next morning they withdrew hastily to Athens; and with so little conduct that much of their baggage was taken by the activity of the pursuing enemy.

Had Thrasybulus assembled a numerous body for his outset, it might have excited an alarm ruinous to his purpose; and, unless he could immediately have struck some great blow, subsistence would probably have failed. But the season favoured enterprise with a small force. It was not easy to keep the field with a large one against him; and in midwinter the Lacedæmonians would not, for a light cause, send troops from Peloponnesus. The Thirty, even after their miscarriage against Phyle, seem to have apprehended nothing from its garrison beyond excursion for plunder. To obviate this they sent the greater part of their Lacedæmonian troops, with a body of their own horse, to a station near the place. But the credit of success having enabled Thrasybulus to increase his forces, he marched with seven hundred heavy-armed, surprised the camp of the Thirty at daybreak, killed a hundred and twenty of their heavy-armed, and put the rest to flight.

This unexpected stroke produced an effect on the minds of men far over-proportioned to its real importance. The  
s. 5. partisans of the Thirty were so alarmed that the tyrants themselves doubted if they could be safe, even in Athens, till assistance might be obtained from Lacedæmon. Their resources then, in beginning distress, were congenial to their measures for the establishment of power. Should they, by any train of misfortunes, be reduced to quit Athens, Eleusis would be the most desirable refuge. It was,

next to the capital, the largest town of Attica, favourably situated for receiving succour from Peloponnesus, and fortified; but many of the inhabitants were disaffected. This inconvenience therefore they resolved to obviate; and the cavalry, whom they considered as the most trustworthy of their troops, were the instruments chosen for the occasion. For the equestrian order, composed of the wealthiest families of the commonwealth, having been common sufferers from the oppression of popular tyranny, rejoiced in the prospect of an improvement of their condition by an alteration of the constitution. Thus predisposed to the Thirty, it had been the policy of those insidious tyrants to court that order, and they had succeeded in holding the larger part attached to their cause.

*Aristoph.  
Equit.*

At the head of the cavalry therefore Critias went to Eleusis. All the Eleusinian people, of age to bear arms, were summoned, under pretence of a muster, for ascertaining their strength as a garrison for their town. Every man, as his name was enrolled, was ordered to go through the gate leading to the shore. Without the wall the Athenian cavalry were posted, with some of the Thirty attending. These indicated the suspected, as they passed singly, and the servants of the cavalry (for a Grecian trooper was always attended by one or more servants afoot) seized and bound them. The scrutiny being completed, they were immediately marched away to Athens, and delivered into the custody of the Eleven.

These unfortunate men, together with some who, for the same crime of suspected disaffection, had been brought from Salamis, were sufficiently at the mercy of Critias and his associates. But an infernal policy dictated farther ceremony. To strengthen the tie between himself and his chosen three thousand, Critias would make these his accomplices in every crime, and sharers in the consequent enmity and abhorrence

of men. On the following day therefore the Threethousand of the catalogue, together with the cavalry, were assembled in that splendid edifice, raised for far other purposes by the taste and magnificence of Pericles, the Odeum or music-theatre: and, lest all should not be sufficiently zealous in the cause, or sufficiently obsequious to the Thirty, the Lacedæmonian garrison attended. Critias, according to the contemporary historian, addressed the Athenians in these extraordinary terms: "In the government which we have been establishing, your interest has been considered equally with our own. Sharing therefore its advantages, you will not refuse to share with us its dangers. Your common voice must ratify an order for the execution of the prisoners yesterday brought hither; that your security and your peril may rest on the same foundation with ours." Suffrages were given by ballot, as under the democracy; but openly, that it might be seen if any were untrue to the cause; and the prisoners from Eleusis and Salamis, together about three hundred, were all condemned to death together by one vote. And among the Athenians, says the contemporary historian, there were some so intent upon the acquisition of wealth and power as to be even gratified with these proceedings.

Xen. Hel. l. 2.  
c. 4. s. 7.

It was not long after this massacre, so ineffectual was the horrid policy of Critias to secure his command over Attica, that Thrasybulus, with about a thousand heavy-armed, marching by night, entered the town of Piræus, open since it was dismantled by the Lacedæmonians, and took possession of it without opposition. The Thirty led their whole force to attack him. The extent of Piræus being too great for his scanty numbers to defend, he

s. 8.

moved to the adjoining suburb of Munychia, which afforded also more advantageous ground. The Thirty did not delay their assault. Next to victory, death in battle was certainly the most desirable lot for Critias;



and he was fortunate enough, beyond his desert, to obtain it. Hippomachus, another of the Thirty, was also killed. Hardly more than seventy of their followers had fallen when the rest fled, and the victory of Thrasybulus was complete. His troops carried off the arms of the dead; but their clothes, a common object of plunder among the Greeks, were, in pious respect for deceased fellow-citizens, left untouched.

When pursuit ceased a truce for burial of the slain was, in the usual form, solicited by the defeated and granted by the conquerors. Opportunity to communicate being thus open, numbers from both sides assembled in conversation. Among those from Piræus was Cleocritus, herald of the mysteries, a man respected for his birth, connections, and abilities, as well as for the sacred office which he bore, and, what was particularly advantageous on the immediate occasion, endowed by nature with a voice singularly capable of prevailing over the murmur of talking numbers. Having procured silence, he addressed the throng in a conciliatory speech, in which, professing for himself and his party every disposition to friendly union with the Three-thousand, he imputed to the Thirty alone the evils suffered on both sides. "The Thirty," he said, "only to gratify an inordinate thirst of wealth and power, had destroyed as many Athenian citizens in eight months as all the Peloponnesians in ten years; and, when no obstacle existed to prevent their establishing a good government in peace, they had forced on this most shameful, cruel, wicked, and, to gods and men, hateful civil war. For himself and those with whom he acted, he protested that the death of those misled men, whose obsequies were about to be performed, was a subject of sincere grief not less than to their own party."

This speech, gaining anxious attention from the many, alarmed their chiefs, who sedulously hur-

Xen. Hel. 1. 2.  
c. 4. s. 12.

s. 13.

s. 14.

ried them away. Next day the Thirty, for that remained their title, met, and with faded hopes consulted concerning their affairs, while the Threethousand were in altercation in various parts of the town; those who had been forward in the late violences urging opposition to the utmost against Thrasybulus and his adherents, while those who thought themselves less personally obnoxious insisted on the necessity of an accommodation; unreservedly declaring that they would no longer obey the Thirty, to their own destruction and that of the commonwealth. The

Xen. Hel. 1. 2.  
c. 4. s. 15.

result of the contention was a resolution, passed

in the form of a decree, by which the Thirty were deposed,

Lys. con.  
Eratosth.  
p. 125. vel  
422.

and a council of Ten was appointed in their room, one from every ward, for the express purpose of negotiating an accommodation with those in

Piræus. Neither was resistance attempted by the fallen

Id. p. 125.  
vel 419.

tyrants, nor violence used against them. Two of their number, Eratosthenes and Phidon, were

elected of the Ten; the others, weak as cruel, and neglected as worthless, retired to Eleusis.

Ibid.

Opposition to Critias had recommended Eratosthenes and Phidon to the choice of the Threethousand, and a disposition adverse to the Thirty was also the supposed merit of their new colleagues. But no sooner were the Ten vested with supreme authority than they betrayed the trust. Appointed for the express purpose of negotiation with Thrasybulus, they resolved not to do what

Xen. Hel. 1. 2.  
c. 4. s. 15.

would presently reduce them to the general level of Athenian citizens. To this determination they

were perhaps instigated, but at least they were warmly supported, by Lysimachus, general of the cavalry, a most vehement enemy of democracy. The cavalry were almost universally disposed to the sentiments of their chiefs, and, a large proportion of the Threethousand being found still well

inclined to the cause, the resolution was taken to oppose Thrasybulus, to maintain oligarchy, and, in reliance on support from Lacedæmon, to exert themselves for the present in defensive measures. The Threethousand being however far from unanimous, the cavalry took on themselves the principal care, both of preserving peace within the city, and giving security against the enemy without. The whole body constantly slept in the Odeum, with their horses at hand bridled, and their spears by them, that they might act instantly, as emergencies might require, either as cavalry or infantry; for beside unceasing apprehension of sedition within the city, attack from Piræus was hourly expected.

Meanwhile citizens, metics, and former inhabitants of Athens of all denominations, who had fled Xen. Hel. 1. 2. c. 4. s. 16. from the tyranny of the Thirty, allured by the fame of the successes of Thrasybulus, flocked to join him. The greater part, disarmed, as we have already seen, by the policy of Critias, brought only their personal ability and zeal in the cause: but all were sedulous in providing themselves to the best of their skill and means; some making shields of wood, some of wicker; and, whether merely for uniformity and distinction, or that no visible weakness of the material might encourage the enemy, they whitened all. Fellowship in adversity, and unity of object under one able leader, promoted concord among them. About the tenth day from their first occupying Piræus, in general assembly they solemnly pledged themselves to fidelity in the common cause, and then came to a liberal resolution, that the rights of citizenship should be common to all, even foreigners having right of hospitality, who should faithfully do the duty of soldiers in the war in which they were engaged for the recovery of their country. They were now strong in heavy-armed; their light-armed were still more numerous, s. 18. and they had about seventy horse. They com-

manded the country, so that they were at no loss for provisions; and it was resolved, with general approbation, to besiege the city.

Though the transient reign and hasty downfall of the Thirty might, on a first glance, give to suppose that their projects were as unaccountably rash and imprudent as grossly nefarious, yet they were not so lightly founded. Critias had proposed, not to establish an independent dominion, but only to be lord of Attica, under the sovereignty of Lacedæmon; and he confided in the Threethousand heavy-armed of his catalogue, together with the greater part of the Athenian cavalry, who were warm in his cause, only as force sufficient in emergencies, till support from Lacedæmon might be obtained. Attica, divided among three or four thousand families, would afford every man a maintenance. Every Athenian thus, like every Lacedæmonian, would be a gentleman; all the offices performed among the modern European nations by the lower classes of freemen would be supplied by slaves. An extraordinary concurrence of favouring incidents with bold and well-concerted enterprise had shaken this system almost in the outset. But, though Critias himself had fallen, and the people under him were ready for a revolution, yet his successors in power, who had been his opponents in council, found his plan so far inviting that they adopted it almost entirely; while his opponents in arms, almost grasping the object of their wishes, were still very far from any clear prospect of obtaining permanent possession.

Thrasylulus had indeed so chosen his season, so avoided to excite alarm, was so rapid in his measures, and so favoured by contingencies, that the revolution was on the point of taking place before his opponents began to think any addition to their own strength wanting. At length however nearly at the same time, from the Thirty

in Eleusis, and from the Ten, in the name of the Three-thousand, in Athens, ministers reached Lacedæmon. But with a government ill formed for extensive dominion, Lacedæmon itself was at this time divided by faction. But the support of oligarchy was necessary to the existence of Lacedæmonian influence in any foreign state, and all the standing principles of Spartan policy would urge it. The powerful interest of Lysander therefore, whose credit was deeply concerned in the maintenance of the Lacedæmonian authority in Athens, sufficed to obtain for him the appointment of commander-in-chief in Attica, with the title of harmost, and for Libys, his brother, the command of a squadron to co-operate with him. He desired no Lacedæmonian land force, but he procured a loan from the treasury to the Athenian state, of a hundred talents, for paying troops, which he could easily hire among the other states of Peloponnesus. He passed immediately to Eleusis, where he was soon joined by his mercenaries, and he prepared to blockade Piræus by land and sea.

Xen. Hel. 1. 2.  
c. 4. s. 19.

Lys. Isocr.

These were circumstances to which the Ten, from their first appointment, had looked forward; and the hopes of their party now became high again, while inevitable ruin seemed to threaten Thrasybulus and his followers. Certainly no exertion of prudence and bravery, on their part, could enable their scanty number and deficient resources to withstand the power of Lacedæmon. But the state of parties in Lacedæmon itself, not likely to have been totally unknown to Thrasybulus, was probably among the encouragements to his enterprise: and indeed it seems more than possible that he had communication there, and reasonable dependence upon intrigue favourable to his views. Xenophon has apparently not said all that he knew or thought upon the subject; certainly he has not explained all that appears mysterious in it; and though he generally

Xen. Hel. 1. 2.  
c. 4. s. 19.

writes freely, yet this is not the only occasion upon which he appears to have carefully avoided declaring what might involve the safety or the character of persons living when he wrote. The facts however, which were of public notoriety then, are not doubtful now. Pausanias, the reigning king of the Eurysthenidean family, was of the party that envied or feared the power and influence of Lysander. But the ephoralty was the hinge on which the politics of Lacedæmon turned: whatever party could obtain a majority of the five ephors, commanded the administration for the year. The expectation that Lysander would make Attica, according to Xenophon's expression, his own, gave much uneasiness. An exertion was therefore made by the king's party; and, three of the ephors favouring, a decree of the general assembly was procured, which, without taking from Lysander the particular command, so lately conferred upon him, put the supreme direction of the business into the king's hands. It was resolved that the affair was important enough to require that the allies should be summoned. The general assembly then directed, that a Lacedæmonian army should march, that Pausanias should command, and that two of the ephors should attend him, as his council.

s. 20, 21.

In pursuance of these resolutions, taken in the absence of Lysander, the contingent of forces was required from all the allies. The Bæotians and Corinthians, already jealous of Lacedæmon, found pretences to disobey; but all the other allies sent their proportions of troops, and Pausanias led a very powerful army into Attica. Lysander, with due submission to legal authority, joined him, and they encamped together in the plain called Halipedon, Seaside level, before Piræus. A message was immediately sent to Thrasybulus, requiring his followers to disperse. Obedience was refused, and then Pausanias led his troops to assault. He had however no intention that it

s. 22.

should succeed, and of course it was ineffectual. Next day he examined the ground about the port, with the pretended purpose of forming a contravallation. His escort, consisting of Lacedæmonian infantry and Athenian cavalry, being molested by the enemy's light-armed, he ordered the cavalry to charge. The irregulars fled, and the cavalry, killing some, pursued as far as the theatre in Piræus, where they were met and checked by targeteers and heavy-armed. The Lacedæmonians following to support the Athenian horse, were so annoyed by the missile weapons of the targeteers, that they were compelled to retreat with loss, and two polemarchs were among the killed. Thrasybulus then led on the whole of his heavy-armed, and Pausanias not without difficulty reached a hill, at the distance of half a mile, where he could defend himself while he sent for support. Having collected his forces, and formed his phalanx in very deep order, he drove back the enemy, with some slaughter, raised his trophy, and withdrew to his camp.

Xen. Hel. 1. 2.  
c. 4. s. 23.

s. 24.

s. 25.

This action, critical as it had been, very exactly answered the purpose of Pausanias. He was anxious to establish the opinion of his serious desire to reduce the democratical Athenians by arms, while he carried his real purposes by secret negotiation. Quitting therefore his situation before Piræus, he encamped under the walls of Athens, taking his own quarters in the celebrated Academia. He had probably, not less than Lysander, his view to a commanding influence in Attica. He was connected by hereditary hospitality with the family of Nicias, of which the chief, Niceratus, the unfortunate son of the unfortunate general, had perished, as we have seen, under the Thirty. Having communicated with the survivors of the family, he directed them to come to him, numerously attended by their party, to give weight to a declaration of their wish for an

Lys. pro fil.  
Eucr. p. 604.

accommodation with their fellow-countrymen in Piræus. At the same time he invited Thrasybulus to send commissioners to treat with him, and intimated the terms which those commissioners should propose. He was readily  
Xen. Hel. 1. 2.  
c. 4. s. 26. obeyed by both; and with the advice and concurrent authority of the two ephors, his council, he gave passports for the commissioners from Piræus, and for Cephisophon and Melitus<sup>22</sup>, as representatives of the moderate in Athens, to proceed to Lacedæmon.

s. 27. The Ten and their associates were alarmed at these missions. Their general assembly was summoned, and they procured a decree for sending ministers to Lacedæmon, on the part of the existing government of Athens. By these they urged, “That as they  
s. 28. had voluntarily placed their city and themselves under the protection, and to be disposed of at the pleasure, of the Lacedæmonians, nothing less ought to be required of those who now held Munychia and Piræus than an unconditional surrender.” All the parties were temperately heard by the ephors and the Spartan assembly. Their ensuing decree directed “That fifteen commissioners should be appointed, in conjunction with the king Pausanias, to settle with the strictest impartiality and equity the differences existing among the Athenian people.”

This resolution, generous we should wish to consider it, though evidently in no small degree a party measure, appears however to have been faithfully and liberally executed. All Athenians of all parties, the Thirty, and some few who had acted in the most invidious offices under them, alone  
s. 29. excepted, were restored to their rights as Athenian citizens, an oath only being required of them to keep the peace and be true to a universal amnesty: and

<sup>22</sup> Perhaps father of the accuser of Socrates, who was Melitus son of Melitus.



even the Thirty, the Eleven, and the Ten were not to be denied those rights, provided they would abide a judicial scrutiny of their conduct.<sup>23</sup> Humanity perhaps and prudence demanded the exception, as not less necessary to the safety of the excepted than to the general quiet. Eleusis was given them for their residence, and to be also the refuge of all who, with them, might fear to live under the restored commonwealth. Matters being so far settled, Pausanias led away the whole of the Peloponnesian forces, leaving the Athenians of the city at perfect liberty with regard to their future civil government.

The retreat of the Lacedæmonian army was the signal for Thrasybulus and his followers to march to Athens. In solemn procession, like the Roman triumph, they ascended into the citadel, and in their arms offered a thanksgiving sacrifice to Minerva. A general assembly was then held, to give the sanction of the popular will to the measures which the circumstances might require. Phormisius, though one of the army from Piræus, proposed that landowners only should have votes in the general assembly, and be competent for magistracy. The more prudent Thrasybulus saw that, though the evils of the old government were great, this was not the proper remedy; nor would the times have borne it. More than five thousand citizens would so have been deprived of the privileges to which, under the old constitution, they were entitled; and would of consequence have sunk into a condition of little more security for person and property than slaves. For so it was, in the want of any just idea of balanced government among the Greeks, that portion of the people which held the sovereign power was despotic, and the rest were their subjects, more de-

Xen. Hel. 1. 2.  
c. 4. s. 29. &  
Lys. c. Agorat.  
p. 137. vel 499.

Lys. Or. de non  
abol. rep. &  
Dion. Hal. vit.  
Lys. Xen. ut  
supra.

<sup>23</sup> "Ὅς αὖ ἐθέλοι εὐθύναις διδόναι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἥς ἦρξεν. Andoc. de Myst. p. 42. .

pressed than the subjects of any single despot easily can be. In addressing the assembly therefore, after some expostulation to the oligarchal party, Thrasybulus strongly recommended, to the democratical, peaceful behaviour, and the strictest observance of the oath of amnesty just taken. Stating then the inexpediency of risking new troubles, by attempting, at such a season, any innovation, he recommended the complete restoration of the constitution, as it stood before the appointment of the Thirty. The assembly decreed as he advised: all the magistracies were filled in regular form, and the government resumed its ancient course. Thus, by a series of conduct, as wise and moderate in civil business as able and daring in military, the latter a common merit among the Greeks, but the former very uncommon, Thrasybulus enjoyed the satisfaction while he lived, and through succeeding ages has had the glory, of being the restorer of the Athenian commonwealth, the second founder of Athens.

Attica however was not yet united under one government: it was divided between a democratical republic, of which Athens, and an oligarchal, of which Eleusis, was the capital; an arrangement suiting the policy of Lacedæmon, as it facilitated the means of holding all in subjection. These means nevertheless were neglected. As the Lacedæmonians wrote no books, and foreigners had little access to their city, we are very deficiently informed of their domestic affairs. They seem however to have been at this time so warm in faction, the party of Pausanias overbearing, but hardly overbearing, that of Lysander, that they had little leisure for interfering in the affairs of neighbour-  
B. C. 402. \*  
Ol. 94. 2-3.
ing states. Meanwhile the people of Athens were alarmed with information that those in Eleusis were

[\* Mr. Clinton establishes the date of the amnesty, mentioned below, 12 Boedromion, Sept. B. C. 403. Fasti Hellen, p. 86.]

engaging mercenary troops. The vehemence of jealousy, natural to those who had so lately been Xen. Hel. 1. 2. c. 4. s. 30. suffering the evils of exile, and who expected no alternative but death or expatriation from the success of the supposed design, instantly possessed the public mind. The service of all able to bear arms was strictly required, and the whole strength of the city marched. The leaders in Eleusis, whose purpose seems to have been but suspected, trusting themselves to a conference, were massacred; but fortunately, so moderate was the popular fury, or such the influence of the chiefs to restrain it, perjury and bloodshed went no farther. Proposals of peace and complete amnesty were offered and accepted, and the refugees, mostly of the noblest and wealthiest families of Attica, were restored to the rights of Athenian citizens. The multitude, who had the power in their hands, as the contemporary historian, not their partial friend, observes, remained faithful to their oaths, "and the government," he continues, "is still carried on with harmony between them." Thus at length the Athenian commonwealth was completely restored, and all Attica re-united as its territory.

In the accounts remaining of these vicissitudes in the affairs of Athens no mention occurs of Alcibiades: after his ineffectual interference to prevent the defeat of Ægospotami, he is not even named by the contemporary historian. His fate nevertheless, as it may best be gathered from imperfect accounts of later writers, is altogether too interesting not to require notice.

Alcibiades seems to have possessed, in the Thracian Chersonese, a large estate, even a princely command, and extensive influence; the estate apparently inherited from his ancestors: for avarice, and that low dishonesty which has the accumulation of wealth for its object, were not among his vices. When he was a second time driven, from

the head of his country's forces, to seek safety in exile, his property, in the expectation of a great booty for the treasury, was strictly inquired after; and private interest, as we have seen, made such inquiries at Athens very severe. But though in issues from the treasury and collections from tributary states the public money which had come into his hands very greatly exceeded what had ever fallen within the power of any former Athenian general, it was found that he had not used the opportunity for private profit.

Lys. pro  
Aristoph.  
p. 654.

In exile therefore, and after the overthrow of his country, Alcibiades, with the consideration arising from property and power, enjoyed that which extraordinary abilities and magnanimous disinterestedness, displayed in great commands, would add. But as it often happens, in human affairs, that circumstances apparently most advantageous and desirable lead to misfortune, so the very credit of Alcibiades was the occasion that, though in exile, the overthrow of his country involved his ruin. Athens was thought not in secure obedience to the Thirty or to Lacedæmon while Alcibiades lived; and, the authority or influence of that sovereign state pervading all the Grecian settlements, it was difficult to find a residence where he could be safe. Perhaps indeed his disposition too little allowed him to rest in quiet security. Finding himself however threatened on his estate in the Chersonese, he passed over into Bithynia. He had some confidence in the friendship, as well as in the tried honour, of the satrap of that country, Pharnabazus. But, little contented with safety there, he conceived projects, not simply for restoring himself to his country, but for restoring his country to its former pre-eminence in Greece. His hopes were excited, and his views directed, by the well-known success of Themistocles at the Persian court; and, under the protection and with the recommendation of Pharnaba-

zus, he proposed to go to Susa. Arrangements seem to have been in some forwardness for his purpose, when, in his residence in Bithynia, he was attacked by an armed multitude, whose provocation or whose instigators are not certainly indicated. Pharnabazus, the Lacedæmonians, and his own passions have all been accused ; but the many well-attested proofs of the satrap's integrity, magnanimity, and honour seemingly should exculpate him. The assailants, an armed multitude against a few domestics, feared to enter the house, but they set fire to it. Alcibiades then sallying sword in hand, none dared await his assault ; but, from a distance, he was overwhelmed by a shower of darts and arrows. Nearly thus, according to all remaining accounts, fell that extraordinary man, before he had reached his fortieth year.\*

[\* Mr. Clinton places the death of Alcibiades B. C. 404, at the age of at least 44. Under the date B. C. 423, he thus traces his age, in opposition to Mr. Mitford: "Alcibiades seems to have already begun to act in public affairs. See Aristoph. Vesp. 44., where his speaking is ridiculed. He had been noticed two years before in the Ἀχαρνῆς, B. C. 425. Acharn. 716. et Schol. ad loc. And even in the Δαιτυλῆς, B. C. 427. Cf. Galen. ap. Brunck. fr. 3., from whence it appears that he had already spoken in public in B. C. 427, probably at the age of twenty ; which would suppose him at this time to be 24 years of age. And he must have been 24 at the least, because he 'was left an orphan by the death of his father' (Isocr. Big. c. 11. p. 352. b.) in B. C. 447, and *was at least 44 at his own death*, B. C. 404, in the year of *Pythodorus*, the 44th Archon, including both, from *Timarchides*, in whose year Clinias fell. Nepos therefore, Alcib. c. 10., inaccurately—*annos circiter QUADRAGINTA natus diem obiit supremum Alcibiades*. Mr. Mitford has followed the erroneus account of Nepos: 'thus fell that extraordinary man *before he had reached his fortieth year.*'" Fasti Hellen. p. 68.]

## CHAPTER XXII.

ILLUSTRATIONS, FROM THE ORATORS AND PHILOSOPHERS, OF THE CIVIL HISTORY OF ATHENS, AND THE CONDITION OF THE ATHENIAN PEOPLE, BETWEEN THE AGES OF PERICLES AND DEMOSTHENES, WITH A SUMMARY VIEW OF THE RISE OF PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE IN GREECE.

## SECTION I.

*Short political Quiet at Athens. — Transcription of Solon's Laws. — Violence of Party-strife renewed. — Sycophancy revived. — Rise of the Rhetoricians. — Prosecutions — of the Son of Alcibiades ; of the Nephews of Nicias ; of a Citizen, supposed to have appropriated Property forfeited to the Commonwealth ; of those who prosecuted the Assassins of Phrynichus ; of a Citizen, for grubbing the Stump of a sacred Olive Tree.*

ON the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war there followed a suspension rather of the usual turbulence throughout Greece, than what, in modern Europe, would be esteemed a political calm, Attica only remaining, as we have seen, for some time, violently agitated. The state of the rest of the country, under the undisputed supremacy of Lacedæmon, though not particularly described by any ancient author, we shall gather from circumstances hereafter occurring. Of the state of Athens, after the restoration of democracy, which Xenophon's short eulogy might give a modern reader to suppose all concord, tranquillity, and happiness, we have from the contemporary orators and philosophers large information. Hence indeed we derive almost all that we

learn of Athenian history, and no uninstrucive portion of it, till Athens became again implicated in the troubles which anew involved all Greece; amid which she so recovered strength and importance as again to take a leading part in them.

It is a strong testimony to the merit of Solon's laws, that, in all revolutions of the Athenian government, they never ceased to be highly respected. The legislative and executive powers, never well defined in any ancient government, might receive changes; the judicial might pass to new tribunals; but no innovating demagogue dared make a direct attack upon Solon's legal system. Nevertheless there existed, for some ages, only one complete copy of his laws, which was kept with great care in the citadel, where all might have access to it, and transcribe any parts particularly wanted. Among the violent internal troubles, preceding the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, it seems to have been a measure of the better-minded men, for restoring the most valuable part of the old constitution, and providing new security for civil order, to procure a decree for a second copy of the whole code for public use. The important business of making or superintending the transcription was committed to Nico-  
Lys. adv.  
Nicom. p. 836.  
 machus, a man of rank, connected with the oligarchal party; and it was expected that the work would be completed in four months. But new troubles within, the pressure of an enemy without, and at length the capture of the city, interfered. Meanwhile Nicomachus, and those connected with him, found themselves possessed of power which they were unwilling to resign. Litigants and others, who  
p. 839.  
 wanted copies of any particular laws, could have them only through Nicomachus. The transcription of parts, for private purposes, unavoidably interrupted that of the whole for public use: and thus, independently of the

political troubles, arose a pretence for delay, which would require reasonable allowance, while the extent of reasonable allowance, under these circumstances, could scarcely by any measure be estimated; and thus six years passed before the complete copy was delivered for public use.

Amid the disorders of conquest and revolution meanwhile circumstances, how far really injurious cannot be known, subjected the code to suspicions, not to be completely obviated. Nicomachus was much connected with Satyrus, Ch. 21. s. 3. of this Hist. whom we have seen distinguishing himself, among the Eleven, as a zealous minister of the violences of the Thirty Tyrants. Nicomachus and Satyrus had before been together among the leaders of the oligarchal party, in opposition to Cleophon. They together joined the party of Critias; and thus, when, by the death of Theramenes, opposition to that party was quelled, the code of Solon was at its mercy.

Nevertheless, if we put together all that remains on the subject, it appears not likely that the code was very essentially injured. Lysias, as an advocate by profession, must himself have had a general knowledge of the laws, and he could not want opportunity for learning the opinions of the best informed about them; yet, when, in conducting the prosecution afterward instituted against Nicomachus, it was most his object to point out what had been destroyed or interpolated, he seems to have been unable even to name any thing very material, except that forgery which he Lys. adv. Nicom. p. 849. affirms to have occasioned the condemnation of Cleophon. All other alterations, made, as he says, principally under the Thirty, appear to have had no farther purpose than to authorise increased expense in public sacrifices. A public sacrifice was always a feast for the lower people. The object being then only to enable the Thirty to feed the Three-thousand of their catalogue at the



public expense, the interpolations could hardly much affect the general system.

When therefore, on the expulsion of the Thirty, the democracy was restored, the inestimable advantage was experienced of possessing a system of law which the people had been accustomed to revere, and the Athenian state became resettled at once on the code of Solon, as on a basis in whose firmness all had confidence. But, on the contrary, intolerable inconvenience had been experienced from the variety of laws added since his time; for many had been made only to answer the momentary purposes of faction; some oppressive in their tenor; some contradictory to others; insomuch that, in the end, the most cautious man could scarcely direct his conduct so as not to become obnoxious to legal punishment. Fortunately the laws of Solon, together with a few unrepealed statutes of Draco, were sufficient, in the moment, for the purposes of civil life. It was therefore decreed that all later laws should be suspended till they had undergone a revision, and that those only which might be advantageously grafted on the old system should be re-enacted.

Thrasybulus, and those who with him guided the popular will, certainly deserve high honour for that political calm, short as it was, which Athens now enjoyed. Not the public measures only, but the public temper was marked with a wise moderation and a magnanimous liberality. Sycophancy was discouraged; party was nearly abolished; several of those who had acted with the Thirty, who had served under them in the cavalry, their guard and principal support, were admitted into the council, and allowed to aspire to the highest offices, civil and military. Harmony and internal quiet prevailed, such as, perhaps since the death of Pericles, had been unknown in Athens.

Andoc. de  
myst. p. 39.  
& 52.

Lysias, δοκιμαὶ  
ἀπολογ. p. 575.  
& adv. Poliuc.  
p. 609. & Xen.  
Hel. i. 2. c. 4.  
s. 30.

While sobriety and moderation, the fruit of severe suffering, thus pervaded the public mind, a vain attempt was made by the patriotic leaders, without the hazard of great changes, to put legal restraint upon democratical despotism.

*Lysias, ut  
supra.*

A law was proposed and enacted, declaring that no decree, whether of the council or even of the general assembly, should be valid in opposition to the law, as it stood then established. But the restraint of law, in an unbalanced democracy, was a phantom, which party-leaders easily taught their favouring majority in the sovereign assembly to despise. The constitution therefore remaining unaltered, the former temper of the government soon returned, and all its inherent evils again broke out. Party-spirit resumed its violence, tyranny again marked the decrees of the assembly and the judgments of the tribunals, and even the amnesty, that solemn engagement to which the whole people had sworn, as the very foundation of order and quiet in the restored commonwealth, was, not openly indeed, but

*Lys. pro  
Mantith. & id.  
adv. Evand. &  
con. Philon.*

under various subterfuges, violated. If the interest of a party required the exclusion of some eminent man from the college of archons or from the council, nice distinctions were taken to prove the cases of such men exceptions to the general pardon, and to contend that the approbation of the council in the dokimasia should be withheld. Success in such an argument before the council, which went no farther than to exclusion from office, encouraged accusation on similar grounds in the ordinary courts, or before the assembled people; which might produce confiscation and banishment, or even death. Needy and profligate men caught at the opportunity, and sycophancy revived, with all its public evils and all its private horrors.

In a popular government the art of public speaking cannot fail to be important, and in Athens it was more extensively so, as no man, who possessed anything, could, by the most

upright conduct, be secure against prosecution; and as moreover it was expected of the prosecuted, though friends or council might assist, that they should nevertheless also speak for themselves. The importance of eloquence, in a court of justice, will also bear some proportion to the numbers which compose it. Eloquence will often operate powerfully upon an English jury of only twelve men; though the judge will check deception, inform ignorance, and correct misinformation; and the jury, in conference before they decide, discussing their own opinions, the recollection of the informed and wary may obviate the fascination of oratory upon the ignorant, the passionate, and the giddy. But in the Athenian courts, consisting of from five hundred to six thousand jurors, no conference could take place; no salutary influence of the wiser few could easily affect the mass; the decision must generally be that of ignorance and passion, operated upon, as might happen, by the powers of contending speakers. “Exasperated by eloquence,” says Xenoph. Apol. Socr. s. 4. Xenophon, “they often condemn the innocent; moved to pity, or even to favour, by eloquence, they acquit and even honour the guilty.”

In this state of things at Athens it was unfortunate to want eloquence. A wealthy man, unable to speak for himself in public, was doubly an object for the sycophants. Hence the profession of the rhetorician, who composed orations to be spoken by others, arose and gained high credit. Eminent men, of superior abilities, attached themselves to it, whose compositions, as valuable models of an important art, were collected and transmitted to posterity; and much of the works of two of the most eminent, Lysias, whose name has already occurred for notice, and Isocrates, who soon after acquired celebrity, fortunately remain to us. In the Grecian annals of the contemporary Athenian historian we find, after the restoration of the democracy, a void in Athenian history.

Those factious intrigues, those strifes in the tribunals and in the agora, which alone offered themselves, were apparently, in his idea, either too familiar to his contemporaries, or too hazardous for historical narrative. He has therefore referred his notice of them to those valuable dissertations which remain to us from him. These, with the works of the orators and rhetoricians, who often passed under the common title of orators, enable us in some degree to fill the void; not indeed with a series of connected events, but with facts which afford much illustration of the character of the Athenian constitution, and of the condition of the people under it.

Among the early objects of reviving sycophancy we find Alcibiades, son of the extraordinary man of that name who has already engaged so much of our attention, by Dinomache daughter of Megacles, the noblest and wealthiest heiress of her time in Athens, to whom he was married in early youth. The younger Alcibiades, from deficiency, whether of talents, or activity, or opportunity, made no figure, in public life, proportionate to his father's fame. He is chiefly known to us through two orations, composed, on different occasions, by the two celebrated rhetoricians just mentioned, one in his accusation, the other in his defence. These however show that he was eminent enough to excite the attacks, not only of sycophancy but of faction.

Lys. con.  
Alcib. Xen.  
Hel. l. 1.  
c. l. s. 24.

The Athenian people had decreed a military expedition, on what occasion does not appear, and the generals were empowered (such was the tyrannical authority with which the despotic multitude not unfrequently intrusted its favourites) to name the citizens who should serve upon it. Party-interest or party-resentment, or possibly some view to favour with the lower people only, prompting, several men of rank and property were called upon to serve as common foot-soldiers. Most of

them, dreading the consequences of a despot's resentment, obeyed the injurious mandate; but young Alcibiades dared to refuse. Mounting his horse, he joined the cavalry, and said, there he was in his post; there he was ready for the duty which the constitution and the laws required of him.

The oration composed by Lysias, for the prosecution, will not impress the most favourable idea of the rhetorician himself, or of the prosecutor for whom he wrote, or of the court to which the speech was addressed, or of the general administration of law at Athens, after the boasted restoration of the commonwealth. Private revenge is a motive of the accuser, directly and repeatedly avowed; and not only the most illiberal personal abuse of the accused, but all that faction had ever, truly or falsely, imputed to his father, was urged to influence the tumultuary tribunal. The lost defence is not wanting to evince that the accusation, which we must suppose so able a pleader well knew how to adapt most advantageously to the capacity and temper of the court, was weakly founded and malicious. The testimony afforded by it is in more than one view valuable. We might question the evidence of Xenophon to the insecurity of individuals at Athens, and the tyranny exercised over all possessing, or reputed to possess, property; he was a sufferer from popular sovereignty; but the concurring testimony of Lysias, a sufferer from oligarchy, and thence a vehement advocate for popular power, completes the proof.

In the oration against Alcibiades we find three penal laws quoted: one against cowardice in battle; another against omission of service with the infantry; and a third against presuming to act with the cavalry, without the previous approbation of the council in the scrutiny called dokimasia. By a violent construction the accuser endeavoured to persuade the court that Alcibiades was obnoxious to the first of these laws; though not only his service with the cavalry

was admitted, but no battle had taken place. "But this is a case," says the accuser, "that has not occurred before since the restoration of the democracy. It behoves you therefore to act, not merely as judges, but in some degree as legislators; not confining yourselves to a strict construction of the law as it stands, but rather deciding how the law should ever hereafter be understood. Alcibiades, regularly summoned for the infantry, having sought shelter in the less dangerous service of the cavalry, it is a duty you owe to justice and to your country to presume his cowardice, as if a battle had actually been fought and he had fled; and sentence ought to be pronounced accordingly." The strong contrast of the principle, here inculcated, to that of the English jurisprudence, which requires the strictest construction of penal laws, cannot fail to strike the English reader; nor can he have examined Grecian history, in the genuine portraits given by contemporary writers, without observing that it is in the character of democracy, more even than of the most absolute monarchy, to be careless of the safety of individuals, where but a shadow of the interest of the sovereign interferes: and in a democracy the prevailing faction is the absolute sovereign. The accuser's own argument shows that by no fair construction Alcibiades could be deemed to have incurred the penalty of the first law. The case seems not to have been within the meaning even of the second; intended apparently to apply only to those who owed no military service but in the infantry. Upon the third a question arises which we have not means to decide; but we may safely pronounce, that either the case of Alcibiades was not within it, or the law was a dictate of the purest tyranny. For if, in any suspension of the *dokimasia*, those who had every requisite for the cavalry-service were legally compellable to serve in the infantry, what must have been the situation of leading men, in a party to which

the general of the day, and a majority of the council were inimical? Any one or all of them might be banished, at the nomination of the general, in the situation of common foot-soldiers, to any part of the world to which the Athenian multitude might be persuaded to decree an expedition.

Alcibiades had the good fortune to escape condemnation; for in his behalf the general himself came forward with his nine colleagues, declaring that, though Alcibiades had been regularly summoned to serve in the infantry, yet he had had their leave to act with the cavalry. But apparently the Athenian law did not, like the English, forbid a second prosecution for the same imputed crime. The accuser pursued his purpose, and a fragment of a second oration, composed for him by Lysias, remains to us, in which the most striking feature is the impudence with which the generals are called upon, with threats, to retract, and acknowledge as faults, the evidence which they had given on oath to the court, in the face of the people.

Young Alcibiades, it is said, inherited his father's fine person and his profligacy, without his talents. For the blemishes of his character however we shall not implicitly believe an avowed enemy, or a venal rhetorician, paid for giving a specious form to calumny. It is creditable for both father and son, that a rhetorician of far fairer reputation than Lysias, a real patriot and a scrupulously honest man, has been the eulogist of one and advocate of the other. A prosecution was instituted against the younger Alcibiades, to recover damages for a violence, pretended to have been, many years before, committed by his father, in forcibly taking, from a person named Tisias, a pair of horses, which won for him the prize in the chariot-race at Olympia. Isocrates composed the speech, yet extant, which the younger Alcibiades spoke in his own defence. It is mostly apology for some parts, and panegyric of the rest, of his father's public

conduct. What deserves our notice here is an animadversion upon the sycophants. "You are now informed," says Alcibiades to the court, "by the testimony of many acquainted with the transaction, and among others by the ambassadors themselves of Argos, that the horses were not taken by violence from Tisias, but were fairly bought, by my father, of the Argive commonwealth. Attacks however like the present are not new to me; and in all of them the insidious policy of the sycophants has been the same. Instituting an action on pretence of some private wrong, they constantly implicate in their plea some charge of public misdemeanor. They employ more time in calumniating my father, than in proving what they have sworn to as the foundation of their suit against me; and, as if in contempt of every principle of law and justice, for crimes committed, as they affirm, by him against you, they demand reparation from me to themselves."

Those unversed in the Athenian pleadings may possibly not immediately see the force or the exact drift of the concluding observation. The multitude ordinarily composing an Athenian court of justice was so great that the pleaders always addressed it as under the impulse of the same interests, and subject to the same feelings as the general assembly, and equally without responsibility. Impartiality was never supposed; the passions were always applied to; and it never failed to be contended, between the parties, which could most persuade the jurors that their interest was implicated with his, and that by deciding in his favour they would be gainers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The orators abundantly show the justice of Xenophon's assertion, *Ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐ τοῦ δικαίου αὐτοῖς μέλει μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ αὐτοῖς συμφέροντος*. Athen. resp. c. 1. s. 13. See particularly the oration of Lysias for the estate of Aristophanes, p. 157. or 656—660.

The extravagant use made of public accusation, as the tool of private malice and private gain, profiting from the extravagance of democratical jealousy, has not escaped the animadversion of the comic poet of the day. "Run and tell Cleon," says the Chorus in *The Wasps*, (v. 407.) "that here is a disaffected



With the son of Alcibiades, we find under the persecution of revived sycophancy the nephews of his colleague in command and adversary in politics, the rich, benevolent, unfortunate Nicias. The family was unfortunate. Niceratus the son, and Eucrates the brother, of Nicias, had suffered death under the tyranny of the Thirty. What crime, under the restored democracy, was imputed to his nephews, the sons of Eucrates, for which they were threatened with confiscation of their property, the remaining fragment of their defence, written by Lysias, does not inform us.

*Lys. p. 606.*

A decree had already been given against them, which is complained of as a direct violation of the amnesty. The services of their family to the commonwealth are urged in their favour; and occasion is taken, from the sufferings of Eucrates and Niceratus under the odious tyranny of the Thirty, to affirm, what however we learn, on the best authority, to have been false, that the whole family had always been attached to the democratical interest. With more truth perhaps, the orator insists that, as the three brothers, objects of the prosecution, were all supporting the burthensome command of triremes, and liable to every other expensive office, as well as to calls, unlimited, for occasional contributions to the treasury, their property was more valuable to the commonwealth in their own hands than if actually confiscated. Such are the principal heads of the defence. Of the final event of the prosecution we

*Xen. Hel. 1. 2.  
c. 3. s. 13.*

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man, bent upon the commonwealth's ruin. He asserts that litigation and prosecutions should be discouraged! Is not this abominable? Is it not manifest tyranny?" An opponent of the faction of Cleon observes upon this (v. 486.): "Every thing with you is tyranny and conspiracy. Even in the market every thing is tyranny. If any one buys haddock in preference to sprats, the sprat-seller says he is laying out for the tyranny. If any one wants to have leeks thrown into the bargain, as sauce for mackarel, 'What,' says the herbwoman, 'are you looking for the tyranny? Do you think Athens will find you sauce for tribute?'" A joke follows to the same purpose from Xanthias, the slave, too indelicate for translation.

are no otherwise informed than by a report, little likely to have been strictly true, that, with one exception only, all the pleadings of Lysias were successful.

An oration, written by Lysias, for a defendant against a prosecution instituted by the treasury, exhibits a far deeper scandal to the laws and constitution of Athens. Nicophemus and Aristophanes, father and son, served their country in high situations; whether really well or ill we know not; but they were introduced to the public favour which raised them by Conon, whom we shall find one of the most illustrious characters in Athenian history. On some turn in the popular mind, some change in the administration, some machination of faction, unreported by ancient writers, they were imprisoned, secretly made away with, so that their friends could not, as usual when executions were regular, obtain their bodies for burial. This atrocious act, more strongly impressed with the purest character of despotism than any recorded even of the Thirty, received the fullest and most deliberate approbation and support of democratical authority. Confiscation of property followed the murder, as if the sufferers had been lawfully executed, in pursuance of the most regular conviction; and, the amount disappointing the expectation of the greedy many, whether animosity, or the desire of plunder only, still incited, a prosecution was instituted against the brother of the widow of Aristophanes, as the nearest relation, to compel payment to the treasury of the supposed deficiency, on pretence that it must have been embezzled by the family.

These facts indeed we have only from the defendant himself. But to authenticate them it seems sufficient, that a defendant in such circumstances could dare, or that an advocate such as Lysias could advise him, to state them before the Athenian people. The whole oration is in a style of humble supplication for justice, little to be expected, unless

the passions of the despotic throng could be interested. "A patient hearing," says the accused, "such as you have granted to my prosecutors, is what I most earnestly solicit. — Accusations of the most atrocious crimes, it is well known, sometimes have been supported only by such gross falsehood, so immediately detected, that the witnesses have carried out of court with them the detestation of all present. At other times the most iniquitous prosecution hath succeeded, and detection has followed, not till reparation to the injured was no longer possible."<sup>2</sup> — The profession of apprehension that a part of the numerous court would be influenced by interested motives, is however not scrupled: "I know," says the accused again, "how difficult it will be effectually to refute the received opinion of the great riches of Nicophemus. The present scarcity of money in the city, and the wants of the treasury, which the forfeiture has been calculated upon to supply, will operate against me."

If the possession of absolute power spoils individuals, much more certainly it spoils a multitude. An expression follows, in the oration we are considering, singularly marking the persuasion of the speaker, and of the able rhetorician who wrote for him, that, in addressing the many of Athens, he was addressing a body impregnated with all the illiberal jealousy, all the haughtiness, and all the selfishness of tyranny. To illustrate a point he wanted to establish, he introduced the supposition "that the estate of Timotheus, son of Conon," the greatest, most irreproachable, and most popular character then in Athens, "was to be confiscated: but," he adds, "the gods forbid that it should be so, UNLESS SOME SIGNAL BENEFIT TO THE COMMONWEALTH MIGHT FOLLOW." He feared to have offended by the sup-

<sup>2</sup> The same thing is said by Andocides, in his defence of himself, p. 2. Or. 3. & 4.

position of an injurious indignity to the people's favourite : he feared to have offended by the supposition that the people's present interest ought not to be the first consideration upon all occasions : he dared not deprecate the grossest injustice to the most respectable individual, if benefit to the multitude might follow : and he thought it a necessary tribute of compliment to the Athenian multitude, to express, what the better nature of men, the most uneducated, accustomed to enjoy real freedom, but not to abuse power, would revolt at as an insult, his opinion of their grasping selfishness, and his doubt of their liberality and justice.

A detail follows, of the public merits of the accused and his family ; totally alien to the merits of the cause, but strongly marking the condition of men of property at Athens. It assists also to explain the assertion of Xenophon before noticed, so strange on first view to the modern reader, that, under the Athenian government, it was matter of question whether it were better for an individual to have property or to be destitute, and whether it were better for the state to have a regular revenue, or to depend upon the voluntary, or forced, contributions of individuals for every exigency. " There are some," the accused proceeds to say, " who spend their estates in public service or public gratifications, that they may receive twofold through your favour. But my father neither solicited gainful, nor avoided expensive offices. He took the presidency successively of all the choral exhibitions. He was seven times trierarch <sup>3</sup>, and he paid many and large free-gifts to the treasury. He kept horses for public service ; his equestrian rank indeed required it ; but whether of a superior kind and in superior

<sup>3</sup> The exact value of this phrase seems not ascertained : whether he fitted out seven different triremes, or only supported the expense of the same command renewed seven times.

condition, their victories at the Isthmian and Nemean games may tell; where my father was crowned and the fame of Athens was proclaimed.<sup>4</sup> He was besides liberal to his fellow-citizens individually. Some he assisted in giving marriage-portions to their daughters and sisters; some he redeemed from captivity; for some he furnished the expense of burial. He died in the office of trierarch, leaving scarcely two talents and a half to his family; and from so slender a fortune I now support the same burthensome honour. All that we have possessed has thus, you see, always been yours; what now remains to us is yours; and if we could acquire more, it would still be yours. Fairly weighing then what has been proved to you by undeniable evidence, it will be found that, justice apart, the public interest should lead you to decide in our favour; since the small relic of our fortune will be unquestionably more profitable to the commonwealth in our possession, than if conveyed to the treasury. Have mercy on us then, and, for the Olympian god's sake, let truth and justice bear out this great accusation. By pronouncing in our favour you will act at the same time uprightly, and for yourselves beneficially."

It will be remembered that the assassination of Phrynichus, an able commander, but an unprincipled politician, was a leading step to the overthrow of the oligarchy of the Fourhundred, and the restoration of democracy under Theramenes and Alcibiades; and it may deserve notice how the principle of that assassination, the ground of some strong measures of government immediately

Ch. 19. s. 7.  
of this Hist.

<sup>4</sup> A merit was imputed to these victories, beyond what appears easy either to account for or to conceive. We learn from Plato, that an Athenian who won in the chariot or horse-race at Olympia was often rewarded for it with a maintenance in the prytaneum, (Plat. Apol. Socr. p. 36. D.) and it seems to have been common, among the Grecian republics, to give an honorary pension to those of their citizens who gained a victory in any of the games, at Olympia, Delphi, the Isthmus, or Nemea.

following, was avowed and gloried in, after the overthrow of the tyranny of the Thirty, and the restoration of democracy under Thrasybulus. Two of those concerned in the murder had been shortly apprehended by the friends of Phrynichus, and public justice did not refuse their confinement in prison. But instantly the opposite party was vehement in clamour against this persecution, as they called it, of those who had deserved well in the popular cause : and they prevailed so far that the prisoners, one a Megarian, the other an Ætolian, not only were released, but presented with the privileges of Athenian citizens and a grant of lands in Attica, to reward their democratical virtue. Their prosecutors, Aristarchus and Alexicles, Athenians, and of the highest rank, were prosecuted as friends of a traitor and enemies of the people. They had certainly been active in the oligarchal party : but the prosecution of assassins in due course of law was the offence of the sovereign many that superinduced their ruin. They were condemned and executed, and even their bones were forbidden burial within the Attic territory.

If this violence of democratical despotism might ever demand excuse, it would be when the public mind, heated by recent injuries, was still agitated by the ferment of faction. But, after the restoration of democracy by Thrasybulus, and the wise measures then taken for promoting concord, which actually produced at least a comparative quiet, it might seem not unreasonable to expect, if ever it could be reasonably expected under democracy, that maxims more consistent with a wise policy, as well as with a just morality, might have gained ground. But, on the contrary, to have been an accomplice in the assassination of Phrynichus was still deemed meritorious ; so meritorious that it might even cover the guilt of farther murders, the criminality

Lycurg. Or.  
con. Leocrat.  
p. 164. vel 217.

Lys. Or. con.  
Agorat.  
p. 136. 27.  
vel 492. &  
de oleâ sacrâ,  
p. 108. 33.  
vel 263.

of which had no other palliative. We find a man, under capital prosecution, absolutely pleading it as the merit which should save him; and the accuser so completely concurring in principle that, far from denying the assassination to have been meritorious, he used his utmost endeavours to prove that the accused had no participation in it. Nor was this a passing doctrine, rising and falling in credit with circumstances of the times: the remaining works of succeeding orators fully evince its permanency as a democratical principle.

Lys. con.  
Agorat.  
p. 136. 15.  
vel 491.

Lycurg. Or.  
con. Leocrat.  
p. 164.  
vel 217. &  
Demosth. con.  
Aristocr.

Among circumstances marking the condition of landed men under the Athenian democracy, the prosecution of one for removing the decayed stump of an olive tree, from his own ground, will deserve notice. The land of individuals in Attica, as we have observed in treating of the Athenian revenue, was very commonly encumbered with olive trees belonging to the commonwealth. For their security, which perhaps was, in early times, of public importance, policy had procured them the reputation of being sacred to Minerva, and placed them under the guardian care of the court of Areopagus. Either to injure the tree, or to till the soil immediately around, or feed cattle on it, was highly penal.

Lys. Or. de  
oleâ sacrâ,  
p. 110.  
vel 283.

p. 282.

The fruit, gathered under the council's direction, was sold for public benefit, and the produce carried to the treasury. These trees however, thus protected from domestic injury, were liable to suffer from foreign enemies, who either did not know, or would little regard, their sacred character; and, in the several invasions of Attica by the Lacedæmonians, many estates, with whose cultivation the sacred olives had formerly very inconveniently interfered, were, through the calamities of war, delivered from the encumbrance.

p. 108. 39.  
vel 264.

The Megarian, who has already been mentioned as an accomplice in the assassination of Phrynichus, and whose name

Lys. Or. de oleâ sacrâ, p. 263. was Apollodorus, had been rewarded for that deed, so meritorious in the estimation of the

friends of democracy, with a part of the estate of the oligarchal leader Pisander, which had been forfeited when he

Ch. 19. s. 7. of this Hist. fled from Athens on the dissolution of the government of the Fourhundred. This public present

the assassin had had the precaution or the good fortune to sell, before the establishment of the government of the Thirty gave prevalence to other political principles, according to which his merit would be very differently estimated, and his estate, had he still held it, would probably have been

Lys. de ol. sacrâ, p. 110. 34. vel 185. taken from him. The land being offered for sale again by the purchaser, was bought by the wealthy

and prudent proprietor of an adjoining estate, who managed so as to live quietly under the Thirty, without engaging so far in their measures as to be involved in their disgrace.

p. 111. 6. vel 285. Under the restored democracy therefore, entitled to the benefit of the amnesty, if for anything he wanted it, and having never been deficient either in free-gifts to the treasury, or in any of those expensive offices, whether of public service or public amusement, which the wealthy

Ejusd. or. init. were required to undertake, he hoped, as he says for himself, that, avoiding to trouble others, he might avoid being troubled.

Notwithstanding all these advantages and all these atten-

p. 281. tions, on the revival of sycophancy the ingenuity of its professors found a pretence to attack him.

On his ancient estate were many olive trees, the property of

p. 269. the goddess, and many his own property; on the adjoining new purchase not one of either

sort remained. A prosecution for destroying a sacred olive



tree on that lately purchased land, formerly part of Pisander's estate, was instituted against him in the Areopagus. His defence, written by Lysias, will impress no favourable idea on modern, at least on English readers, even of that celebrated court. Frivolous and vexatious prosecution, it appears, was not deterred by its respectable character: sycophants could, even there, find encouragement. In the action in question the accusation first stated, that a fruit-bearing olive tree had been destroyed. But evidence to this point having been vainly sought among the contractors for the commonwealth's fruit, the charge was altered, and it was stated that a decayed trunk only had been removed. This however, such sacredness did the superstition of that philosophical age impute to the sapless wood, was, in the acknowledgment of the accused himself, an enormous offence, the legal punishment for which was no less than banishment for life. The temptation to commit the crime, as the accused justly observes, bore no proportion to the penalty imposed, nor the hope of escape to the probability of detection. Neither house nor vineyard was near, to make the destruction of a tree particularly desirable; but a high road passed hard by, and the act was of a kind not to be easily done but in presence of witnesses, either passengers or assistants. "Heretofore," says the accused, "I might have taken offence at being called fearfully cautious: yet I think my conduct has never been marked with such imprudent boldness as to warrant the supposition that I would put myself so in the power of my slaves as unavoidably I must by the act of which I am accused. Slaves, it is universally known, are always unfriendly to their masters. After therefore giving them opportunity for such accusation against me, I could no longer command mine, but they would command me." This does not offer the pleasantest picture of the state either of slaves or of

Lys. Or. de oleâ  
sacrâ, p. 290.

Lys. de ol. sacrâ, p. 287. masters at Athens. Nor is the idea altogether improved by what follows, though the master in question must have had confidence in his slaves, since he freely offered them for examination by torture. To reconcile such inhumanity with such confidence appears difficult: yet the slaves appear to have deserved more credit for attachment to their master than his account would impress; and a high opinion seems to have been entertained of their fortitude, since the prosecutor, without any claim to finer feeling, refused their testimony as subject to influence.

This prosecution, it appears, rested on the single evidence of the prosecutor. All his proposed witnesses failed; while many, farmers who had rented the land, and others acquainted with it, swore positively that, since the accused had purchased the estate, no such stump as that stated in the

p. 291.

indictment had existed. Two motives for the prosecution are assigned by the accused; the hope of extorting money, and the instigation of powerful men with political views. It was not instituted till some years after the pretended commission of the crime, and it seems to have been unsupported even by any probability; yet it appears that the accused was under no small apprehension, that even the venerable court of Areopagus might be influenced to give an unjust decision against him.

## SECTION II.

*Prosecution of Andocides for Impiety. — Petition of Andocides for a Decree of Protection.*

It has been a favourite tenet among political writers that republican government is fit only for small states. But

small states are liable to suffer, more than large ones, from one evil inseparable from republican government, the contest of parties : for, in proportion to the narrowness of its bounds and the scantiness of its population, the spirit of party will pervade a state with more untempered and more lasting violence. This was experienced in all the little Italian commonwealths of modern times. It has been seen in Geneva, in amount such as perhaps to warrant a doubt if even the despotism with which France has extinguished it be a greater evil. All the Grecian republics felt it severely. But modern speculators in politics might have had opportunity, which the Greeks wanted, to observe, in the example of Britain, that extensive territory, with a numerous population, giving means for the violence of the spirit to be tempered, and the malignity softened, by diffusion, affords the fairest field, for an able legislator, to obviate the worst effects of what always must exist in free governments, while mankind have passions.

Among the numerous prosecutions of this period, known by the remaining works of the Athenian orators, that of Andocides, on a charge of impiety, for the variety and importance of the information it affords, will deserve particular notice. Two orations pronounced in that remarkable trial, and a third in consequence of it, remain to us ; one, in accusation, composed by Lysias ; the others, in defence, by the accused himself.

Andocides was born of one of the most illustrious families of Athens. His ancestors had filled the first offices of the commonwealth, military and civil. His great-great-grandfather, Leogoras, was a leader of the party in opposition to the Pisistratidæ, and commanded the exiled people in a successful battle against the tyrants. His grandfather, Andocides, com-  
Andoc. de  
myst. p. 14. vel  
53. & p. 18.  
vel 72, 73.  
Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 51. & seq.  
Plut. vit. or.

war which preceded the Peloponnesian.<sup>5</sup> His father, Leogoras, was first commissioner in a treaty for peace with Lacedæmon. Andocides himself was a youth, familiar through his birth and connections with men of highest rank in the republic, when he became implicated in that accusation of profaning the mysteries and mutilating the Mercuries which first drove Alcibiades from his country.

That extraordinary affair, so strange, it might be said childish, in itself, so important in its consequences, remains involved in deep obscurity; though the use made of it by Lysias, in accusation, brought from Andocides, in his defence, what he has given as an explanation of it. Little satisfactory however as this explanation is concerning the mutilation of the statues, it affords illustration of the character of the Athenian government, for which it may be well worth while to revert, for a moment, to the circumstances of that period.

In the vehemence of popular alarm, excited by the party in opposition to Alcibiades, when witnesses to the profanation were sought, or pretended to be sought, on all

<sup>5</sup> Were Plutarch and the scholiast of Thucydides to be believed, Andocides the orator was himself the commander. It is far from my desire that either should have less credit than he deserves; yet I perfectly agree with Taylor in the opinion of their error on this occasion, though I would not give quite such harsh language: "Ad hæc tamen," says Taylor, "non animos advertabant σχ. Thucyd. neque mendax ille Plutarchus, qui vitas oratorum, dolis et erroribus consutas, olim conscribillavit." Annot. ad Lys. Or. con. Andoc. p. 107. vel 244.

Concerning the ancestors of Andocides we find a difference in our extant copies of his orations. Leogoras, opponent of the Pisistratidæ, is mentioned, in the first oration, as his great-grandfather; in the second, as his father's great-grandfather. The difference is of no great historical importance, but the latter account seems best to agree with other reported circumstances of the family, and best to accommodate chronology. I should therefore suppose the pedigree, which, in the Greek manner of stating it, exactly resembled the Welsh, to have run thus: 1. Leogoras, opponent of the Pisistratidæ; 2. Leogoras of Leogoras; 3. Andocides of Leogoras, naval commander in the Corinthian war; 4. Leogoras of Andocides, commissioner for negotiating peace; 5. Andocides of Leogoras, the orator.

sides, the first brought forward was a servant of Alcibiades himself, named Andromachus. On his evidence one man only was executed, in pursuance of condemnation by the popular tribunal. But aware that when the tyrant was enraged no certain measure of justice was to be expected, many fled, and, in their absence, were all condemned to death. Large rewards were held out to invite farther indication. No other witnesses however offered; but it was understood that a metic, named Teucer, who had fled to Megara, could indicate much, and would return and declare all he knew, if he might be taken under the protection of the council of Fivehundred. That council engaging for his safety, he denounced twenty-eight persons, among whom were Plato, the scholar of Socrates, and Melitus, perhaps father of his accuser. These, with some others, fled. Of those indicated, all taken were executed. We can only wonder that informers were so slow and scarce, when we learn that Andromachus, a servant, in reward of his forward zeal, received no less than ten thousand drachmas, about four hundred pounds sterling; and Teucer, a foreigner, who, as he bargained for personal safety, was less an object of popular generosity, one thousand drachmas, about forty pounds, for their information.

Andoc. de  
myst. p. 2.  
vel 6.

p. 7.

p. 8. vel 18.

The democratical interest, it appears, was now divided. Alcibiades had risen upon the democratical interest; and, while he remained in Athens, none, leaning on the same interest, could hope for success in competition with him. But his absence, and the alarm so successfully excited, gave opportunities; insomuch that Pisander, afterward founder of the oligarchy of the Fourhundred, now stood forward as one of the greatest favourites of the people. He was appointed, together with Charicles, as confidential commissioner of the people, to investigate this very mysterious and very

alarming business. After short inquiry, they declared their opinion that it was a deep-laid plot to overthrow the democracy, and that the conspirators were numerous. On the publication of this declaration, in the distraction of party-interests, alarm so pervaded the lower people, uncertain whom they might trust, that the signal for the meeting of the council served as a signal for all to fly from the agora: it was completely deserted: every man doubting his neighbour, and fearing that he might himself be the next to be apprehended.

Andoc. de  
myst. p. 19.

In the midst of this popular terror another informing adventurer came forward. A man named

Dioclide, brought before the council, deposed that he knew the mutilators of the Mercuries to be no less than three

p. 22.

hundred: forty-two he indicated by name, and

among them he did not scruple to accuse Mantitheus and Aphepsion, two of the councillors present. A proposition was immediately made by Pisander, the demagogue of the day, which could be tolerated only in a democracy or a divan, "That the decree of Scamandrius, which forbade the torture of Athenian citizens, should be suspended, and that Mantitheus and Aphepsion should be put upon the wheel; for day ought not to close," he said, "before every name were known." Not the wild multitude, but the council, taken indeed by lot from the multitude, but men all first approved in the dokimasia, applauded this measure of pure tyranny. Mantitheus and Aphepsion betook themselves to the altar of the council-hall; and, by force of supplication, with difficulty obtained indulgence, so far as to avoid the torture, and to be allowed to give security for standing trial. But a government so tyrannical, overwhelming principle, urges and almost forces men to dishonourable actions. Mantitheus and Aphepsion were no sooner at liberty, than they mounted their horses and fled; leaving their bondsmen

legally liable to that punishment which, in case only of their conviction, should have fallen on themselves.<sup>6</sup>

Whether put forward to answer any party purpose, or merely the self-arising fancy of the multitude, Diocliides, the accuser, became, or appeared to become, the popular favourite, and extravagantly the favourite. He was conducted by the people in a carriage to the Andoc. de myst. p. 23. prytaneum, crowned as the saviour of the commonwealth, and entertained with a supper at the public expense. Meanwhile forty persons, whom he accused, were imprisoned. Andocides, Leogoras, father of Andocides, three p. 24. cousin-germans, and seven more distant relations, among whom was Eucrates, brother of Nicias, were of the number. "We were all bound," said Andocides, speaking his defence; "night came on, and the prison was locked; when, as intelligence of our misfortune was com- p. 25. municated, many women, the mother of one, the sister of another, the wife with the children of a third, came and vented their lamentations about the place." Amid this complicated scene of woe, this anxiety within and without the prison, for what was next to happen, the kinsman of Andocides, imprisoned with him, knowing that he had lived in intimacy with some who had been executed, and with some who had fled, and apprehending more certain destruction from the blind jealousy of the tyrant multitude than from anything that could be fairly stated against them, importuned him to offer himself for evidence, and declare all

<sup>6</sup> In the extant copies of the oration it is said, that Mantitheus and Aphepsion fled to "the enemy at Decelea." According to the account of Thucydides no enemy was then, or could be, at Decelea. It cannot be supposed that Andocides could have mistaken about such a matter, or would venture an untruth, of which the knowledge and memory of numbers present could convict him. But what has certainly happened in other cases may possibly have happened in this; that some annotator, ignorant and officious, may have inserted words in the margin, with which following ignorant transcribers may have corrupted the text.

he knew. Andocides yielded to this persuasion, and accordingly was examined before the council. He had his information, as he affirmed, from Euphiletus and Melitus, who had been active in the mutilation of the Mercuries. All those already executed, and several who had fled, he said, had been justly impeached, and he indicated four, still in Athens, as accomplices. What however was the purpose of so apparently strange a wildness as the mutilation of the statues, or what the temptation to it, is not in the least indicated by anything remaining from him. Though he pretends to account for the odd circumstance that the Mercury before his father's door, alone of all in Athens, remained uninjured, yet even thus he throws no light on the object of the persons concerned. But his confirmation of the evidence before given against those executed and those who had fled, together with the indication of four additional criminals, though these all escaped the officers of justice, calmed the minds of the people, before mad with fear and suspicion. This, extraordinary as it appears, is so supported by Thucydides that the fact seems not reasonably questionable. Perhaps the multitude wanted the testimony of an Athenian citizen and a man of rank to calm their apprehensions, though that of Teucer, a metic, and Andromachus, a freed-man, if he was not still a slave, had sufficed them for condemning many citizens of the first consideration to death. Not that this supposition will wholly explain the mystery. There was surely party intrigue connected with the deposition of Andocides; for the furious Pisander was at once appeased<sup>7</sup>: and the miserable tool Diocliides, who had been held up almost as an idol to the multitude, was now hurled at once to perdition. Being brought again before the council, and confronted with

Andoc. de  
myst. p. 26.  
& 31.

<sup>7</sup> Ἐξελέγχοντες δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἢ τε βουλὴ καὶ οἱ ζητηταί. — p. 32. The ζητηταί, it will be remembered, were Charicles and Pisander.



Andocides, he acknowledged, if we may believe the orator, the falsehood of all the evidence he had before given. This, whether by the standing law of Athens, or by law established for the occasion, subjected him to capital punishment. The council promised him pardon, on condition of declaring his instigators. Diocliides seems to have been ready for any declaration that might save his life, and he named many; but all, getting timely information, escaped out of Attica. The people became furious, or those who led the people thought the death of Diocliides necessary for their own security; and by a passionate decree, the unfortunate, but apparently worthless man was, without trial, sent to the executioner. Andocides and his father, and all imprisoned with them, were immediately released; and those fugitives, whose impeachment by Teucer was not confirmed by the evidence of Andocides, were recalled.

But though Andocides was thus delivered from confinement and the fear of death, yet he seems to have remained under the ban of the *atimy*, or exclusion from magistracy, and all posts of honour and command. He chose therefore to leave Athens. But the consideration of his family and connections, and his own talents, procured him an honourable and advantageous reception successively in Sicily, Italy, Peloponnesus, Thessaly, the Hellespont, and especially in Cyprus.<sup>8</sup> Considering the general disposition of later writers among the ancients, who have been implicitly followed by the moderns, to revile Andocides, it is rather remarkable that the only eminent man in the countries he visited, who is said to have denied him favour, was Dionysius of Syracuse, whose character, blackened by some eminent writers,

Lys. con.  
Andoc. p. 10  
vel 201.  
Andoc. de  
myst. p. 1.  
vel 2. & Lys.  
con. Andoc.  
p. 107.  
vel 248.

<sup>8</sup> This, asserted by Andocides, (De myst. p. 18. vel 72. & de reditu, p. 21. vel 80.) seems confirmed even by the reproaches of his prosecutor. (Lys. con. Andoc. p. 103. vel 200. & 107. vel 248.)

will be for future notice; and that Evagoras of Salamis in Cyprus, of reputation among the most highly eulogised of the age, was his principal patron.<sup>9</sup> Toward the

Plut. vit.  
Andoc.  
Andoc. de red.  
p. 21. vel 80.

end of the Peloponnesian war, he returned to

Athens; whether hoping for favour from the people, in consequence of a considerable service he had found means to do the Athenian fleet, when lying at Samos; or whether, as perhaps may be suspected, he rather depended upon interest with the party of the Fourhundred, then in possession of the government. We may however

p. 82.

trust his account so far, that, instead of finding the expected favour, he suffered imprisonment, and narrowly escaped capital condemnation from the party violence of Pisander; whence he took occasion to assert that he was persecuted for attachment to the democratical cause. On

p. 1. vel 2.

regaining liberty Cyprus became again his refuge.

There he was living in affluence, of which apparently he owed much to the friendship and generosity of Evagoras, when the overthrow of the government of the Thirty at Athens produced the general amnesty, which seemed to afford opportunity for all Athenian exiles to return securely to their country. However therefore the friendship of Evagoras, and a considerable property in the island of Cyprus, might soften banishment, Athens became again the inviting scene for a man of the connections and talents of Andocides; and, at the age of somewhat more than forty, he returned thither.<sup>10</sup>

p. 17. vel 64.

It does not appear that any exception was immediately taken against his resuming every right

<sup>9</sup> Lysias says (p. 226.) that he was imprisoned by Evagoras, and escaped by flight. There is much appearance that this was calumny. On the contrary, that he received very great favour from Evagoras appears unquestionable.

<sup>10</sup> Taylor has fancied, and endeavoured to prove, that Lysias, in saying that Andocides was more than forty, meant to reckon the years, not from his birth, but from his age of eighteen, his first manhood. The learned and ingenious argument carries, to me, no degree of conviction.

of an Athenian citizen. On the contrary, if we may believe his own probable account, the very party by which he was disliked, and afterward persecuted, put him into the honourable but expensive, and therefore generally avoided offices, first of president of the Hephæstia, games of Vulcan, at Athens, then of architheorus, minister representative of the Athenian commonwealth, successively at the Isthmian and Olympian games, and afterward of treasurer of the sacred revenue.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile he was active in public business; his eloquence procured him attention from the people; his great connections and great talents procured him consideration with the council. Forward, and perhaps little scrupulous in accusation, he disturbed the measures, checked the hopes, and excited the apprehensions of the party in opposition to that with which he was connected. His arguments before the council procured the rejection of one of them, in the dokimasia, as of objectionable character, and of course exclusion from the cavalry service, and from the higher civil offices. Hence arose great alarm, and a resolution to crush him, if their policy, in aid of their collected strength, could effect it.<sup>12</sup>

Lys. con.  
Andoc.  
p. 106.  
vel 230.

The first attempt was of a very extraordinary kind: at least so it appears to the modern reader. We have the account indeed only from Andocides himself; but this was pronounced before the Athenian people, when he apprehended oppression from a party more powerful than his own; and it contains such a detail of matters open to the knowledge of numbers that he surely would not so have committed himself if the truth of the tale had not been either generally known, or within his power to prove.

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps the revenue (whence arising I know not) from which the expense of the Eleusinian mysteries, and the sacrifices, processions, and other appertinent ceremonies, was defrayed.

<sup>12</sup> From the accuser himself may be gathered the motives to the prosecution. Lys. con. Andoc. p. 106. vel 230.

Andoc. de  
myst. p. 54.

It was supposed, we find, of much efficacy toward obtaining the favour of any deity, to place upon the altar, as a supplication-offering, an olive-branch wrapt in a woollen veil. But it was forbidden to do this in the temple of Ceres during the mysteries; whether because individuals should not draw the attention of the goddess from rites instituted to conciliate her favour to the commonwealth, or under what other idea, does not appear. Among the powerful enemies of Andocides was Callias, hereditary torch-bearer of the Eleusinian mysteries: an office whence his family derived the surname of Daduchus. He was son of Hipponicus, esteemed the richest man of his time in Greece, and descended from Callias Daduchus, said to have fought, habited in the sacred robe of his office,

p. 55.

against the Persians at Marathon. "We were returned," says Andocides, "from Eleusis" (apparently he was then treasurer of the sacred revenue) "when the king" (the second archon) "going in regular form, to report the circumstances of the procession, was directed, by the prytanes, to make his report to the council, and require Cephisius and myself to attend in the Eleusinium; for there, according to the ordinance of Solon, the council sits on the morrow of the mysteries. We attended accordingly; and, the council being met, Callias, habited in the sacred robe, arose and declared, that a supplicatory bough was lying on the altar; placed there, as he was informed, by Andocides; and the laws of their ancestors, which had been satisfactorily explained to the people by his father Hipponicus, devoted the person, so offending, to death without trial."

It is remarkable that the accused objected nothing to the principle of a law devoting a citizen to death without trial; or to the law itself, which seems to have been merely traditional, and both in words and purpose very doubtful, or

to the interpretation insisted on by the accuser, or to such authority as that referred to for the validity of the interpretation. Andocides, able and experienced, was aware that it was congenial to democracy to be careless of the rights of individuals; and, in his situation, he dared not question the right of the sovereign to send any body at pleasure to the executioner. His defence was of another kind.

Andoc. de  
myst. p. 58.

He contended, in the first place, that the law, which should direct the decision of the council, was engraved on a pedestal within the temple; and the punishment for the offence in question was there clearly declared to be, not death, but a fine of a thousand drachmas, less than forty pounds sterling. He then admitted, which may seem not less strange to the modern reader, that, whether the profanation were intentional or unintentional, the punishment, being piacular, should equally attach upon it. But the accuser had said that "The goddesses themselves, desirous of the punishment of Andocides, instigated him to the profanation, of the consequence of which he was ignorant." The defence of Andocides, against an attack so apparently difficult to ward, is truly curious. "I maintain," he said, "that, if what my accusers affirm is true, the goddesses have shown themselves propitious to me. For had I placed the supplicatory offering, and confessed it, I should indeed have wrought my own destruction: but, having kept my counsel, when confession alone could convict me, for it is not pretended that there were witnesses to the fact, the goddesses may be supposed to have interested themselves in my preservation. Had they desired my destruction, they would have prompted me to confess the profanation, which I certainly did not commit." It appears indeed that no evidence to fix the fact upon Andocides could be produced, and he was acquitted.

This strange attempt in the council having failed, it was resolved next to bring Andocides before a popular tribunal; and it would probably now be the more necessary to push measures against him, as he and his party would be exasperated by that attempt, and encouraged by its failure. No act of Andocides, since his return to Athens, gave any opportunity. It was determined therefore to take advantage of the indiscretion or the misfortune of his early youth; and, without regard to the many wounds in the commonwealth, now happily healed, which it might open again, to institute a capital accusation against him on the pretence that his case was an exception to the general amnesty.

Cephisius, apparently his colleague in the office of treasurer of the sacred revenue, was the ostensible conductor of the prosecution; Lysias composed the principal speech in accusation. The acts of criminality stated in the indictment were, that Andocides had frequented the temples, sacrificed on the altars, and acted in civil affairs, as if in the legal enjoyment of the perfect rights of an Athenian citizen, when the decree of atimy, or deprivation of rights and honours, which had been passed against him on occasion of the mutilation of the Mercuries, remained unrepealed; and that, by false accusation, in which, with other near kinsmen, his own father was involved, he had occasioned the execution of innocent citizens. The punishment which the accuser insisted on was, according to the usual Athenian form, subjoined,—death.

The speech in accusation, written by Lysias, remains to us nearly entire. It has been studiously adapted, by the ingenious and experienced rhetorician, to the information and the temper of a mob tribunal. Little solicitous to convince reason, he has applied to the passions, and especially to that of superstitious fear: a passion very prevalent among the Greeks, and beyond all others likely to

cloud and disturb reason. His great object has been to persuade that the impiety of Andocides, if not expiated by his death, would implicate the court and the whole commonwealth in his guilt; and that the greatest misfortunes, public and private, might be reasonably apprehended from the consequent anger of the gods.

*Lys. con.*  
*Andoc. p. 104.*  
*vel 209. & 105.*  
*vel 217. & 106.*  
*vel 231.*

The tale told at the outset of the speech, of a kind not to be omitted, is yet difficult to report.<sup>13</sup> The purport was to impress the court with a conviction of the reality, and the immediate impendence, of danger from the divine wrath. "A horse," says the orator, "was tied to the rail of the temple of the goddesses (Ceres and Proserpine) with the pretended purpose that the owner, who had lost it, might reclaim it; but, in the night, it was stolen by the man who had brought it thither. This profanation escaped the law, but did not escape divine vengeance; for the sacrilegious criminal perished by a most dreadful death. All food emitted, to his sense, so offensive a smell that, unable to eat, he died of hunger. The testimony of the hierophant to these facts has been heard by numbers now living." While we wonder at such a tale seriously told, in the age of Xenophon and Plato, in one of the principal courts of justice in Athens, we should recollect how lately the laws against witchcraft were in force among ourselves.

*Lys. con.*  
*Andoc. init.*

The rhetorician then laboured to prove that the case of Andocides was not within the meaning of the general amnesty. For the quiet of the commonwealth it would have been better that such proof should have been in no case attempted. All the rest of the reasoning, and most of the declamation, are founded upon a gross falsehood. It is impudently asserted, that

*Lys. con.*  
*Andoc. p. 234.*

<sup>13</sup> The beginning of the oration is wanting; but the tale, though setting out with a broken sentence, is completely clear.

the profanation of the mysteries, and the mutilation of the Mercuries by Andocides, not only were notorious, but confessed by himself. The peroration then runs thus: "Give your attention, and let your imagination picture to you what this man has done. Clothed in a sacerdotal robe, in presence of the uninitiated, he acted the sacred ceremonies; exposed what ought not to be seen, and declared what ought not to be heard. The images of the gods, in whom we believe, whom we worship, and to whom, after careful purification, we sacrifice and pray, he mutilated. To expiate this pollution, the priestesses and priests, turning toward the setting sun, the dwelling of the infernal gods, devoted with curses the sacrilegious wretch, and shook their purple robes, in the manner prescribed by that law which has been transmitted from earliest times. These deeds he has confessed; yet in violation of your decree, which declared him excluded from temples and sacred ceremonies, as impure and piacular, he has returned to the city, sacrificed upon the altars, mixed in those holy ceremonies which he had profaned, entered even the temple of the goddesses, and washed his polluted hands in the sacred ewer. Whom can it become to suffer such things? What friend, what kinsman, but especially what member of a court of judicature will risk, by the most secret favour to such a man, to bring the divine anger on himself? No: by avenging the gods, by putting Andocides out of the world, you must purify the city; and let the pollution of sacrilege, the poison of impiety, the offence to whatever is holy, be sent far from you.<sup>14</sup> It has been among the custom of your ancestors to devote the impious to death, without the formality of trial, by a simple decree. You do better to make a more solemn example of them. But, knowing what becomes you, no persuasion

<sup>14</sup> Thus far the peroration is translated: what immediately follows is abbreviated: the three last sentences again are translated.



ought to move you from the pious purpose. The criminal will supplicate and entreat, but pity should be far from you. Not who perish justly, but those only who perish unjustly, deserve commiseration."

The speech of Andocides, in his defence, is a masterly and manly composition, containing a clear detail of facts, strongly supported by witnesses, and by appeals to the knowledge of the multitude composing the court before which he pleaded; carrying a doubtful appearance, and in some points little intelligible to the modern reader, only in what regards the profanation of the mysteries, and the mutilation of the Mercuries; every assertion concerning which is nevertheless still supported by evidence, oral or written. The confession, which his accuser affirmed him to have made, is strongly and repeatedly denied, together with the facts said to have been confessed. The improbable assertion, that the accused impeached his own father and other <sup>Andoc. de myst. p. 15. & 17.</sup> kinsmen, he so shows to have been a gross falsehood, that we can only wonder how such an attempt of the accuser could pass without censure from the court.<sup>15</sup>

After then mentioning the attempt, which has been already related, to procure his condemnation by the council without trial, he proceeds to some private history, curious in itself, but foreign to the cause, and brought forward only to show that the malice of Callias originated in circumstances highly discreditable to himself and honourable to Andocides; unless it was farther in view to point out an object which might draw away, from the latter, a part of that public indignation which he found pressing on him. Too long, too intricate, too much entering into detail of private life to be con-

<sup>15</sup> The clear detail, in the first oration, of matter of such public notoriety, and which one should suppose matter of record, is of itself evidence; and it is corroborated by the mention again made of the same matter in the second oration, in which it must have been the height of imprudence for the accused to bring it forward again, were there any doubt of the truth.

veniently reported here, it must suffice to say of it, that it tends strongly to show to what a degree, in so small a state as Athens, party influence enabled men to scorn the laws, and how much more, than can easily be in extensive dominion, private interests had sway in public concerns.<sup>16</sup>

Andoc. de  
myst. p. 65.

A tale, relating to a public business, follows, which must not be omitted. The tax of a fiftieth on imports and exports was commonly farmed by auction for three years. The spreading boughs of a plane afforded convenient shade, under which the bidders commonly assembled. A company, with one named Argyrius at its head, had farmed this revenue at thirty talents yearly, between six and seven thousand pounds sterling. When their term expired, finding means, by interest and money, to obviate competition, they obtained a renewal at the same rent. Andocides, knowing the tax produced much more, made a regular offer to the council to advance upon the bargain. The auction was, in consequence, opened again, and closed finally with letting the tax to Andocides at thirty-six talents, being an advance of fourteen or fifteen hundred pounds sterling yearly. At this rent Andocides declares it was no

p. 67.

disadvantageous contract. The use that he proposed to make of the mention of the transaction, on his trial, was to fix popular odium on his accusers, and particularly on Callias, as connected with Argyrius, and interested in the contract; to show that the motive to his prosecution was not public spirit, but private malice; to claim to be himself a useful and necessary man to the popular interest; and to endeavour farther to allure popular consideration by promising that, if he might, through justice done him, be at liberty to act in the popular cause, he would

<sup>16</sup> Γίνονται μὲν οὖν αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν, is an observation of Aristotle, preliminary to a report of many instances of revolutions in Grecian states, originating from private quarrels. Aristot. Polit. l. 5. c. 4.

prevent such imposition on the public in future, or bring the delinquents to condign punishment.

In the conclusion of his defence, Andocides endeavoured to draw advantage from the popularity of his family, and the merit of his ancestors; for, with all the vehemence of democratical jealousy among the Athenian people, family eminence was still in estimation. "If you destroy me," he says, "my family is extinct: and does the family of Andocides and Leogoras deserve so to perish? and is it not a reproach to the commonwealth that their house should be occupied, as during my exile it was, by Cleophon the musical-instrument maker? that house, of which none of you, in passing, could say that thence either public or private evil had come upon him: that house, which has furnished commanders of your forces, who have won many trophies, by land and by sea; magistrates who have filled all the highest offices of your government, through whose hands the public treasure has passed, and who never turned any to their own profit; a family who never had cause to complain of the people, nor the people of them; and of whom, from remotest antiquity, whence they trace themselves, never were any before brought into a situation to supplicate your mercy.

"If they are now all dead, let not their good deeds be forgotten. Rather let their persons be present to your imagination, soliciting your protection for me. For, alas, whom among the living can I bring forward to move your commiseration? My father? no, he is no more. Brothers? I never had any. Children? I have none yet born.<sup>17</sup> Be you therefore to me instead of a father, of brothers, of children. To you I betake myself: you I implore. Be advocates to yourselves in my favour; and, while, to supply the deficient population of the city, you are admitting Thessalians

<sup>17</sup> This expression surely escaped Taylor, when he was intent upon proving Andocides, at the time of his trial, seventy years of age.

and Andrians to its rights, devote not to destruction your true citizens, whom, certainly more than strangers, it behoves to be good citizens, and who want neither the will nor the ability to be so."

It was usual in the criminal courts of Athens to try all expedients for impressing the passions of the numerous tribunal. Pitiabie sights were offered to the eyes, and pitiabie tones to the ears; aged parents, weeping wives, and helpless children were brought forward to assist or to obstruct justice, by the most affecting entreaties. Andocides, after having urged, in the best way his circumstances admitted, that degrading supplication which the tyrannous temper of the people made necessary, assumed a more dignified manner in calling forward a support that, with a court properly composed, should have been more efficacious. "Now," he says, "let those who have most approved themselves friends of the people and worthy of public favour ascend the bema, and declare their opinion of me. Anytus and Cephalus, come up; and those of my fellow-wardsmen who are appointed my advocates, Thasyllus and the rest." These were men of the first consideration in Athens.

Plutarch, in his short life of Andocides, omits all information of the event of this trial, nor does he say when or how Andocides died. We learn however, from a second oration of Andocides himself, that the first neither completely effected its purpose, nor entirely failed. The decision was against him, but not to the extent that his enemies had proposed. His life was not affected, for in the second oration we find no prayer for mercy: he laments only those unfortunate circumstances which had brought on him that reprobation of a majority of his fellow-countrymen to which, clear as he was of criminal intentions, he must bow. But he was not without hope of even regaining all the advantages of popular favour. It had been found expedient, in the insecurity,

especially of men in public situations, under the deficient protection of the Athenian law, to grant decrees of protection<sup>18</sup> to individuals, to enable or to encourage them to undertake or proceed in public service. Such privilege, under a decree of the people, Andocides himself had once enjoyed; and it would still have been in force but for a special repeal of it, which his political enemies had procured. His object was now to obtain a renewal of that decree of protection. The inducement, which he held out, was his knowledge of matters of the utmost importance to the public welfare, which he could not safely declare without such security against oppression from his powerful enemies. Under engagement for secrecy he had already communicated the information to the council, who were fully satisfied of the reality of its importance, and desirous that he should have the protection necessary to enable him to serve the commonwealth. We learn no farther what the matter to be indicated was than may be gathered from the following passage of the speech: — “What I may previously declare,” says Andocides to the Athenian people, “you shall now hear. You know it has been told you that no corn is to be expected from Cyprus. Now I can undertake to say that the men who have so informed you, and who, as far as depended upon them, have provided that it should be so, are mistaken. What has been the management it is needless for you now to know: but this much I wish you to be informed, that fourteen corn-ships are actually approaching Piræus, and the rest, already sailed from Cyprus, may be expected soon after them.”

Andoc. de  
reditu, p. 22.  
vel 86.

p. 20. vel 76.  
& 22. vel 84.

It appears that Athens, always in the unfortunate circumstance of depending upon uncertain supply by sea for subsistence, was in want of corn; that the people, perhaps

already oppressed by dearth, were uneasy under the apprehension of famine; and that Andocides meant to accuse some powerful men, his opponents in politics, of enhancing the public distress for their private profit, and to claim to himself the merit of defeating their purpose, by procuring relief for the people. Of the event of this project of the orator we have no information. Plutarch, professing to relate the life of Andocides, mentions no circumstance of it after the trial for impiety.

What were the real merits or demerits, either of Andocides or of his prosecutors and political opponents, is not very decisively indicated by any memorials remaining of them. But, what is of more importance, we gain from their united evidence the most undeniable testimony to the gross evils inherent in the Athenian constitution; its irremediable unsteadiness, its gross tyranny, the immoderate temptation and the endless opportunities it afforded for knavish adventure in politics. What moreover deserves notice, we learn from them that a strong disposition to religious persecution prevailed among the Greeks of their age; insomuch that, where the supposed interest of religion interfered, all forms of justice to individuals were set at naught. In short, the remaining works of the Grecian orators bear the most unquestionable proof that democracy, with the pretence of an establishment proposing nothing but the equal welfare of the people, is, beyond all others, a constitution for profligate adventurers, in various ways, to profit from at the people's expense.

## SECTION III.

*Virtuous Age of Greece romantic. — Deficiency of Grecian Morality. — Summary View of the Origin and Progress of Grecian Philosophy. — Religious Persecution. — Sophists. — Socrates.*

It may appear superfluous to repeat, that the business of history is neither panegyric nor satire, but to estimate justly and report faithfully the virtues and vices of men who, individually or collectively, have been engaged in circumstances marking them for historical notice. Yet panegyric hath commonly been so mixed with certain portions of Grecian history that an honest declaration of that truth, which a careful investigation will discover, may, on more than one occasion, with many readers, need apology. Authors under the Roman empire, and many in modern Europe, of reputation to have engaged almost universal credit, have spoken in rapturous language of the virtuous age of Greece, and especially of Athens, as of something not only well known by fame, but undoubtedly once existing. When it existed nevertheless, even in their imagination, seems impossible to fix, so that testimony, overthrowing the supposition, shall not be obvious. For the age before Solon, memorials of men and things are too scanty to furnish ground for the character. For that extraordinary man's own age, our means for tracing the course of events are still very deficient; but there remains from his own hand, among the works of Demosthenes, a picture of the Athenian people. The profligacy of all ranks is there exhibited in strong colours: of their virtues nothing appears. Demosth. de legat.

Yet Solon seems to have had the merit of preparing what, if we may believe Thucydides and Plato, might best deserve the title of the virtuous age of Athens; for (may I venture on the authority of Thucydides and Plato to say it?) the

nearest approach to so advantageous a state of things appears to have been made under what declaimers, who lived many centuries after, have assumed to themselves to reprobate, as the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ.

But, in the age with which we are now engaged, the age of Plato, Xenophon, and philosophy, morality seems not only to have been not better practised, but even not better understood, than in Homer's time. That Might made Right, especially in public transactions, was a tenet very generally avowed; the incalculable mischiefs of which were checked only by the salutary superstition, which taught to respect the sanction of oaths, in the fear that immediate vengeance from the gods would follow the violation of it, as a personal affront to themselves. It appears however, in the remaining works of the great comic poet of the day, that this salutary superstition was in his time fast wearing away. The light of reason, improved by much communication of men among one another, had enabled the more quicksighted to discover that temporal evil, of any kind obvious to common observation, fell no more upon false-swearers than upon the most scrupulous observers of their oaths. The

Ch. 2. s. 1.  
of this Hist.

perjured might suffer in secret, under those alarms of conscience which Homer's penetration has attributed to them; but experience had sufficiently taught to consider Hesiod's denunciations as anile fables.<sup>19</sup> The mischief thus done by human reason, in the destruction of one of the greatest safeguards of society, human reason could not perhaps at all, but certainly could not readily,

<sup>19</sup> "Men hid from the sight of the gods by clouds," says one of the characters in the comedy of *The Birds*, "commit perjuries undiscovered; but if the gods could manage an alliance with the Birds, then, should a man who had sworn by the crow and by Jupiter, break his oath, the crow would fly down slyly and pluck him an eye out." *Aristoph. Av. v.* 1607. The jokes which follow, about Jupiter dying and Hercules cooking, seem, like some other jokes of *Aristophanes*, to have had no other object than to bring the gods, or at least the notions of them which the established religion inculcated, into contempt.



repair. It is evident from the writings of Xenophon and Plato that, in their age, the boundaries of right and wrong, justice and injustice, honesty and dishonesty, were little determined by any generally-received principle. There were those who contended that, in private as in public affairs, whatever was clearly for a man's advantage, he might reasonably do; and even sacrifice was performed and prayer addressed to the gods for success in wrong. When therefore that cloud of superstition, which produced a regard for the sanction of oaths, was dissipated by the increasing light of reason, an increased depravity would of course gain among the Grecian people. We learn indeed, from the best contemporary testimony, that of Thucydides, that the fact was so; and hence occasion may have been taken by the orators of the next age, who seem first to have cherished and promulgated the notion, which in any other point of view appears purely romantic, to call the preceding times the **VIRTUOUS AGE OF GREECE**.

Xen. Mem.  
Socr. l. 4. c. 2.  
& 4. Plat.  
Alcib. 1.  
p. 117. t. 1.  
Protag. p. 357.  
& de rep. l. 2.  
p. 362. & de  
Leg. l. 10.  
p. 905. & seq.

Yet while thus, not morality only, but, as we have before observed, politics, were defective among the Greeks, to a degree to excite wonder, science was in esteem, and had, in some branches, the foundation already laid of all that is now most valued in them. Grecian **PHILOSOPHY** is said to have had its origin from Thales, whom we have seen a leading man of Miletus in Ionia, at the time of that rebellion of the Asian Greeks against the Persian empire which led to the invasion of Greece itself, and the glory of the Athenians at Marathon. The learning, through which Thales became so distinguished among his fellow-countrymen, and so eminent in the republic of letters through all ages, he is said to have acquired in Egypt. The circumstances of individuals, in the Grecian commonwealths, but more especially in those of Asia, were more favourable for the cultivation of science

than a transient view of the political state of the country might give to suppose. Few had large incomes; but numbers lived in leisure; mostly maintained by the labour of slaves; assembled in towns, and all communicating with all. Manners were thus formed; politeness was diffused; genius was invited to display itself; and minds capacious and active, but less daring or less turbulent, or more scrupulously honest, avoiding the thorny and miry paths of ambition, which required not only courage beyond the powers of the weak, but often compliances beyond the condescension of the liberal, would naturally turn themselves to the new modes of employment and of distinction which the introduction of science offered. A lively imagination was among the national characteristics of the Greeks; and, from the earliest accounts of the nation, we find that whenever new knowledge beamed it was received with eager attention.

Thus, from the light acquired by Thales in Egypt, arose what has obtained the name of the Ionian school of philosophy. Thales is said to have been the first among the

*De Nat. Deor.*  
l. 1. c. 10.

Greeks who calculated an eclipse of the sun. He is said also by Cicero, to have been the first to think that one almighty mind was the author and maintainer of all the visible creation, and that men therefore should act as always under the circumspection of such an all-powerful being. Soon after him Pythagoras, driven by political troubles from his native Ionian island, Samos, diffused information, nearly similar, derived from the same source, yet mixed with other fancies, among the Grecian towns of Italy. But we have had occasion formerly to advert to the doubtfulness of all accounts of Pythagoras, beyond the very little that Herodotus and Aristotle have recorded of him.

“To do as you would be done by,” seems, when once stated, so obvious a maxim for directing the conduct of men

toward one another, and, when dispassionately considered, so incontrovertibly just a foundation for all moral philosophy, that we may wonder at any delay in its discovery, and any hesitation about its reception. Nevertheless self-love, perpetually instigating the desire to command others and to profit at their expense, operates so powerfully in the contrary direction, that Thales may deserve great credit for the rule approaching, but far from reaching it, "Not to do to others what, if done to us, we should resent."<sup>20</sup> But dry unconnected precepts, thwarting the passions and unalluring to the imagination, did not win attention like physical and metaphysical inquiries. The calculation of an eclipse of the sun led the mind to more amusing speculation, and left the passions free. The formation of the world, the nature of matter and of spirit, the laws of the heavenly bodies, were therefore subjects which, in the intervals of political strife, deeply engaged the minds of the Asian Greeks. But in the want of convenient materials and method, books were yet so rare that few could study in retirement. Knowledge was communicated in discourse; and the gymnasia and public porticos, built for exercises of the body, became places of meeting for the culture of the mind.

Xen. Mem.  
Socr. l. 1.  
c. 1. s. 11.

The love of science is universally said to have been first communicated, among the Athenians, under the able and

<sup>20</sup> Mr. Gibbon has considered the two rules as the same, or of equal value. "The golden rule, of doing as you would be done by, a rule which," he says, "I read in a moral treatise of Isocrates (in Nicocle) four hundred years before the publication of the gospel: 'Α πάσχοντες ὑφ' ἑτέρων δεγίξισθε, ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴ ποιεῖτε.'" Gibbon's Rom. Hist. c. 54. note 36. The difference between them appears however to me very great; one forbidding only evil-doing, the other commanding universal charity. Xenophon, I remember somewhere, I believe in the Cyropædia, commending benevolence to enemies, has approached much nearer to the Christian doctrine. [This precept is somewhat differently given by Diogenes Laërtius, l. i. 9. Thales, he says, being asked, πῶς ἂν ἀρίστα καὶ δικαιοῦτατα βιώσαιομεν, answered, ἕαν, ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμῶμεν, αὐτοὶ μὴ δεῶμεν. — In Herodotus, Mæandrius of Samos is made to say: ἐγὼ δὲ, τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσσω, αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω. iii. 142.]

benign administration of the Pisistratidæ. But science itself was then in infancy, and its immediate growth in Athens was checked by the violence of political contest, which produced the ensuing revolution, and was kept low by the long-subsisting fervour of party-spirit. The Persian invasions, quickly following, absorbed all attention, and the great political objects, which afterward engaged the general mind, left little leisure for speculative pursuits. It was not till the superior talents of Pericles had quieted the storms of war and faction, that science, which had in the interval received great improvement among the Asian Greeks, revived

Arist. de  
animâ, l. 1.  
c. 2.

at Athens with new vigour. Anaxagoras of Cla-

zomene, the preceptor and friend of Pericles,

bred in all the learning of the Ionian school, is said first to have introduced what might properly be called Philosophy

Aristot.  
Metaphys.  
l. 1. c. 4.

there. To him is attributed the first introduction

in European Greece of the idea of one eternal, almighty, and all-good Being, or, as he is said, after Thales, to have expressed himself, a perfect mind, independent of body, as the cause or creator of all things. The gods received in Greece, of course, were low in his estimation; the sun and moon, commonly reputed divinities, he held to be mere material substances, the sun a globe of stone, the

Plat. Apol.  
Socr. p. 26.  
t. 1.

moon an earth, nearly similar to ours. A doctrine

so repugnant to the system on which depended the estimation of all the festivals, processions, sacrifices,

and oracles, which so fascinated the vulgar mind,

Plut. vit.  
Pericl. Schol.  
in Nub. Aris-  
toph. v. 338.

was not likely to be propagated without reprehension. Even the science which enabled to

calculate an eclipse was offensive, inasmuch as it lowered the importance, and interfered with the profits, of priests, augurs, interpreters, and seers. An accusation of impiety was therefore instituted against Anaxagoras; the general voice went with the prosecutors; and all that the power

and influence of Pericles could do for his valued friend, was to procure him means of escape from Attica.

But while physical and metaphysical speculation engaged men of leisure, other learning had more attraction for the ambitious and needy. To men indeed in general, living in an independent, and still more if in an imperial democracy, whatever might best enable them to sway the minds of their fellow-citizens, and, through such influence, raise themselves to commanding, dignified, and profitable public situations, would be the most interesting science. He who, knowing more than others, could also express himself better, would command attention in the public assemblies. That general education therefore which gave the greatest advantage to talents for public speaking, a knowledge of letters and language, of mathematics, of laws, of history, of men and manners, whatever might contribute to form what we call Taste, which enables the possessor, by a kind of sentiment, without reflection, to give advantage to every thing by the manner of speaking and acting, and still more to avoid whatever, either in itself or by the manner of putting it forward, can excite disgust or contempt, these would be in the highest request.

Yet there would be able men to whom, in the turbulence of the Grecian democracies, public situations would be little inviting: in some of the smaller states they were beneath a soaring ambition; in the larger, amid the competition of numbers, success would to many be hopeless; some men, possessing high mental faculties, might want strength of body or powers of elocution; and many would be excluded or deterred by unfortunate party connections. From among all these therefore some, instead of putting themselves forward for public situation, sought the less splendid but safer advantages to be derived from communicating to others that science and that taste which might enable them to

become considerable as public men. Athens always was the great field for acquiring fame and profit in this line; yet those who first attained eminence in it were foreigners there, Gorgias of Leontini in Sicily, formerly noticed as chief of an embassy from his own city to Athens, Prodicus of the little island of Ceos, and Hippias of Elis. All these are

Plat. Socr.  
Apol. p. 19.

said to have acquired considerable riches by their profession. Their success invited numbers to follow their example; and Greece, but far more especially Athens, shortly abounded with those who, under the name of sophists, professors of wisdom, undertook to teach every science. The scarcity and dearness of books gave high value to that learning which a man with a well-stored mind, and a ready and clear elocution, could communicate. None, without eloquence, could undertake to be instructors; so that the sophists, in giving lessons of eloquence, were themselves the example. They frequented all places of public resort, the agora, the public walks, the gymnasia, and the porticos; where they recommended themselves to notice by an ostentatious display of their abilities, in disputation among one another, or with whoever would converse with them.

In the competition thus arising, men of specious rather than solid abilities would often gain the most extensive estimation. A certain dignity of character was generally affected, to which decency of manner was indispensably necessary; whence arose the opposition of the sophists to the comic poets: but, if the doctrine of a licentious rather than a severe morality would recommend them to extensive favour, their efforts would be more directed to excuse and give a specious appearance to the former than to enforce the other. Many of them indeed would take either side of any question, political or moral; and it was generally their glory to make the worse appear the better cause.

The profession of sophist had not long flourished, and no Athenian had acquired fame in any branch of philosophy, when the singular talents, and singular manners and pursuits, of Socrates son of Sophroniscus engaged public attention. The father was a statuary, and is not mentioned as very eminent in his profession; but, as a man, he seems to have been respected among the most eminent of the commonwealth: he lived in particular intimacy with Lysimachus, son of the great Aristides. Socrates, inheriting a very scanty fortune, had a mind wholly intent upon the acquisition and communication of knowledge. The sublime principles of theology, taught by Anaxagoras, made an early impression upon his mind. They led him to consider what should be the duty owed by man to such a Being as Anaxagoras described his Creator; and it struck him that, if the providence of God interfered in the government of this world, the duty of man to man, little considered by poets or priests as any way connected with religion, and hitherto almost totally neglected by philosophers, must be a principal branch of the duty of man to God. It struck him farther that, with the gross defects which he saw in the religion, the morality, and the governments of Greece, though the favourite inquiries of the philosophers, concerning the nature of the Deity, the formation of the world, the laws of the heavenly bodies, might, while they amused, perhaps also enlarge and improve the minds of a few speculative men, yet the investigation of the social duties was infinitely more important, and might be infinitely more useful, to mankind in general. Endowed by nature with a most discriminating mind, and a singularly ready eloquence, he directed his utmost attention to that investigation; and when, by reflection, assisted and proved by conversation among the sophists and other able men, he had decided an opinion, he communicated it, not in the way of

Plat. Alcib. 1.  
p. 131. t. 2.

Plat. Laches,  
p. 180. t. 2.

precept, which the fate of Anaxagoras had shown hazardous, but by proposing a question, and, in the course of interrogatory argument, leading his hearers to the just conclusion.

Mem. Socr.  
l. 1. c. 1. s. 10. We are informed by his disciple Xenophon how he passed his time. He was always in public. Early in the morning he went to the walks and the gymnasia : when the agora filled, he was there ; and, in the afternoon, wherever he could find most company. Generally he was the principal speaker. The liveliness of his manner made his conversation amusing as well as instructive, and he denied its advantages to nobody. But he was nevertheless a most patient hearer ; and preferred being the hearer whenever others were present able and disposed to give valuable information to the company. He did not commonly refuse invitations, frequently received, to private entertainments : but he would undertake no private instruction ; nor could any solicitation induce him to relieve his poverty by accepting, like the sophists and rhetoricians, a reward for what he gave in public.

In the variety of his communication on social duties he could not easily, and perhaps he did not desire entirely to avoid either religious or political subjects ; hazardous, both of them, under the jealous tyranny of democracy. It remains a question how far he was subject to superstition ; but his honesty is so authenticated that it seems fairer to impute to him some weakness in credulity than any intention to deceive. If we may believe his own account, reported by his two principal disciples, he believed himself divinely impelled to the employment to which he devoted his life, inquiring and teaching the duty of man to man.

Plat. Apol.  
Socr. p. 28.  
& 31. t. 1.  
Xen. Mem.  
Socr. l. 1. c. 1.  
s. 3. A divine spirit, in his idea, constantly attended him ; whose voice, distinctly heard, never expressly commanded what he was indisposed to do, but frequently forbade what he had intended.



To unveil the nature of Deity was not among his pretensions. He only insisted on the perfect goodness and perfect wisdom of the Supreme God, the creator of all things, and the constant superintendence of his providence over the affairs of men. As included in these, he held that everything done, said, or merely wished by men, was known to the Deity, and that it was impossible he could be pleased with evil. The unity of God, though implied in many of his reported discourses, he would not in direct terms assert; rather carefully avoiding to dispute the existence of the multifarious gods acknowledged in Greece; but he strongly denied the weaknesses, vices, and crimes commonly imputed to them. Far however from proposing to innovate in forms of worship and religious ceremonies, so various in the different Grecian states, and sources of more doubt and contention than any other circumstances of the heathen religion, he held that men could not, in these matters, do wrong if they followed the laws of their own country and the institutions of their forefathers. He was therefore regular in sacrifice, both upon the public altars and in his family. He seems to have been persuaded that the Deity, by various signs, revealed the future to men; in oracles, dreams, and all the various ways usually acknowledged by those conversant in the reputed science of augury. "Where the wisdom of men cannot avail," he said, "we should endeavour to gain information from the gods; who will not refuse intelligible signs to those to whom they are propitious." Accordingly he consulted oracles himself, and he recommended the same practice to others, in every doubt on important concerns.

Xen. Mem.  
Socr. l. 1. c. 1.  
s. 19.

s. 2.

Plat. Euthyph.  
& de rep.

Xen. Mem.  
Socr. l. 1. c. 3.  
s. 1.

c. 1. s. 7, 8, 9.

Xen. Anab.

The circumstances of the Athenian government, in his time, could not invite a man of his disposition to offer him-

self for political situations. He thought he might be infinitely more useful to his country in the singular line, it might indeed be called a public line, which he had chosen for himself. Not only he would not solicit office, but he would

Plat. Apol.  
Socrat.  
p. 23. & 36.

take no part in political contest. In the several revolutions which occurred he was perfectly passive. But he would refuse nothing: on the contrary, he would be active in everything that he thought decidedly the duty of a citizen. When called upon to serve among the heavy-armed, he was exemplary in the duties of a private soldier; and as such he fought at Potidæa, Amphipolis, and

Xen. Mem.  
Socr. l. 4. c. 4.  
s. 2. & 5.  
Plat. Apol.  
Socr. p. 32.

Delium. We find him mentioned in civil office; at one time president of the general assembly, and at another a member of the council of Five-hundred. In each situation he distinguished himself by his unbending uprightness. When president, he resisted the violence of the assembled people, who voted a decree, in substance or in manner, contrary to the constitution. Neither entreaties nor threats could move him to give it the necessary sanction of his office. As a member of the council we have already seen him, in the office of prytanis, at the trial of the six generals, persevering in resistance to the injustice of popular tyranny, rendered useless through the want of equal constancy in his colleagues, who yielded to the storm. Under the Thirty again we have seen him, not in office indeed, but daring to refuse office, unworthy and illegal office, which the tyranny of the all-powerful Critias would have put upon him.

We are not informed when Socrates first became distinguished as a sophist; for in that description of men he was in his own day reckoned. When the wit of Aristophanes was directed against him in the theatre he was already among the most eminent, but his eminence seems to have been then recent. It was about the tenth or eleventh year of the

Peloponnesian war, when he was six or seven and forty years of age, that, after the manner of the old comedy, he was offered to public derision upon the stage, by his own name, as one of the persons of the drama, in the comedy of Aristophanes, called *The Clouds*, which is yet extant. Some antipathy, it appears, existed between the comic poets, collectively, and the sophists or philosophers. The licentiousness of the former could indeed scarcely escape the animadversions of the latter; who favoured the tragic poets, competitors with the comedians for public favour. Euripides and Aristophanes were particularly enemies; and Socrates not only lived in intimacy with Euripides, but is said to have assisted him in some of his tragedies. We are informed of no other cause for the injurious representation which the comic poet has given of Socrates<sup>21</sup>; whom he exhibits, in *The Clouds*, as a flagitious, yet ridiculous pretender to occult sciences, conversing with the clouds as divinities, and teaching the principal youths of Athens to despise the received gods and to cozen men. The audience, accustomed to look on defamation with carelessness, and to hold as lawful and proper whatever might amuse the multitude, applauded the wit, and even gave general approbation to the composition; but the high estimation of the character of Socrates sufficed to prevent that complete success which the poet had looked for. The crown, which rewarded him whose drama most earned the public favour, and which Aristophanes had so often won, was on this occasion refused him.

Diog. Laert.  
vit. Socr.  
init.

Aristoph. Nub.  
v. 112. & 246.

v. 525.

<sup>21</sup> The learned Brunck, in a note on *The Clouds* of Aristophanes, contends that the poet bore really no ill-will to the philosopher. He draws his proof chiefly from the circumstance that in Plato's dialogue, entitled *The Banquet*, Socrates and Aristophanes are represented sitting, in no unfriendly way, at the same table; and in confirmation of it he adduces the celebrated panegyric epigram on Aristophanes, which has been commonly attributed to Plato. Aristoph. Brunck. p. 65. t. 2.

Bruck. not.  
in Nub.  
Aristoph. init.

Two or three and twenty years had elapsed since the first representation of *The Clouds*; the storms of conquest suffered from a foreign enemy, and of four revolutions in the civil government of the country, had passed; nearly three years had followed of that quiet which the revolution under Thrasybulus produced, and the act of

Plat. Euth.  
p. 2. t. 1. &  
Apol. Socr.  
p. 24. Xen.  
Mem. Socr.  
init. Diog.  
Laert. vit.  
Socr.

amnesty should have confirmed, when a young man, named Melitus, went to the king-archon, delivered, in the usual form, an information against Socrates, and bound himself to prosecute. The information ran thus: "Melitus son of Melitus, of the borough of Pitthos, declares these upon oath against Socrates son of Sophroniscus, of the borough of Alopecce: Socrates is guilty of reviling the gods whom the city acknowledges, and of preaching other new gods: moreover he is guilty of corrupting the youth. Penalty, death."

Xenophon begins his Memorials of his revered master with declaring his wonder how the Athenians could have been persuaded to condemn to death a man of such uncommonly clear innocence and exalted worth. Ælian, though for authority not to be compared with Xenophon, has nevertheless, I think, given the solution. "Socrates," he says, "disliked the Athenian constitution. For he saw that democracy is tyrannical, and abounds with all the evils of absolute monarchy."<sup>22</sup> But though the political circumstances of the times made it necessary for contemporary writers to speak with caution, yet both Xenophon and Plato have declared enough to show that the assertion of Ælian was well founded; and farther proof, were it wanted, may be derived from another early writer, nearly contemporary, and

<sup>22</sup> Σωκράτης δὲ τῇ μὲν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ οὐκ ἠρέσκετο· τυραννικὴν γὰρ καὶ μοναρχικὴν εἶναι τὴν δημοκρατίαν οὖσαν. Ælian. Var. Hist. 1. 3. c. 17. And this is consonant to Aristotle's observation, quoted at the end of the first section of the twenty-first chapter, Ἡ Δημοκρατία ἡ τελευταία Τυραννίς ἐστι.

deeply versed in the politics of his age, the orator *Æschines*. Indeed, though not stated in the indictment, yet it was urged against Socrates by his prosecutors before the court, that he was disaffected to the democracy; and in proof they affirmed it to be notorious that he had ridiculed what the Athenian constitution prescribed, the appointment to magistracy by lot. "Thus," they said, "he taught his numerous followers, youths of the principal families of the city, to despise the established government, and to be turbulent and seditious; and his success had been seen in the conduct of two, the most eminent, Alcibiades and Critias. Even the best things he converted to these ill purposes: from the most esteemed poets, and particularly from Homer, he selected passages to enforce his anti-democratical principles."

*Xen. Mem. Socr. l. 1. c. 2. s. 9.*

*c. 2. s. 56. et seq.*

Socrates, it appears indeed, was not inclined to deny his disapprobation of the Athenian constitution. His defence itself, as it is reported by Plato, contains matter on which to found an accusation against him of disaffection to the sovereignty of the people, such as, under the jealous tyranny of the Athenian democracy, would sometimes subject a man to the penalties of high treason. "You well know," he says, "Athenians, that, had I engaged in public business, I should long ago have perished, without procuring any advantage either to you or to myself. Let not the truth offend you: it is no peculiarity of your democracy, or of your national character: but, wherever the people is sovereign, no man who shall dare honestly to oppose injustice, frequent and extravagant injustice, can avoid destruction."

*Lys. Or. pro Polyst.*

*Plat. Apol. Socrat.*

Without this proof indeed we might reasonably believe that, though Socrates was a good and faithful subject of the Athenian government, and would promote no sedition, no political violence, yet he could not like the Athenian consti-

tution.<sup>23</sup> He wished for wholesome changes by gentle means ; and it seems even to have been a principal object of the labours to which he dedicated himself, to infuse principles into the rising generation that might bring about the desirable change insensibly. His scholars were chiefly sons of the wealthiest citizens, whose easy circumstances afforded leisure to attend him ; and some of these, zealously adopting his tenets, others merely pleased with the ingenuity of his arguments and the liveliness of his manner, and desirous to emulate his triumphs over his opponents, were forward, after his example, to engage in disputation upon all the subjects on which he was accustomed to discourse. Thus employed and thus followed, though himself avoiding office and public business, those who governed or desired to govern the commonwealth through their influence among the many, might perhaps not unreasonably consider him as one who was, or might become, a formidable adversary ; nor might it be difficult to excite popular jealousy against him.

Melitus, who stood forward as his principal accuser, was, according to Plato, not a man of any great consideration.

Plat. Euth.  
ad init.

His legal description however seems to give some probability to the conjecture that his father was one of the commissioners sent to Lacedæmon from the moderate party, who opposed the ten successors of the

Ch. 21. s. 3.  
of this Hist.

Thirty Tyrants, while Thrasybulus held Piræus, and Pausanias was encamped before Athens.

He was himself a poet, and stood forward as in a common cause of the poets, who esteemed the doctrine of Socrates injurious to their interest. Unsupported, his accusation would have been little formidable. But he seems to have been a mere instrument in the business. He was soon joined by Lycon, one of the most powerful speakers of his time, and the avowed patron of the rhetoricians, who, as

<sup>23</sup> His political principles seem most particularly declared in Plato's *Crito*.

well as the poets, thought their interest injured by the moral philosopher's doctrine. I know not that on any other occasion in Grecian history we have any account of this kind of party-interest operating; but, from circumstances nearly analogous, in our own country, if we substitute for poets the clergy, and for rhetoricians the lawyers, we may gather what might be the party-spirit, and what the weight of influence, of the rhetoricians and poets in Athens. But Anytus, a man scarcely second to any in the commonwealth in rank and general estimation, who had held high command with reputation in the Peloponnesian war, and had been the principal associate of Thrasybulus in the war against the Thirty and the restoration of the democracy, declared himself a supporter of the prosecution.<sup>24</sup> Nothing in the accusation could, by any known law of Athens, affect the life of the accused. In England no man would be put upon trial on so vague a charge: no grand jury would listen to it. But in Athens, if the party was strong enough, it signified little what was the law. When Lycon and Anytus came forward, Socrates saw that his condemnation was already decided.

By the course of his life however, and by the turn of his thoughts for many years, he had so prepared himself for all events, that the probability of his condemnation, far from being alarming, was to him rather matter for rejoicing, as, at his age, a fortunate occurrence. He was persuaded of the soul's immortality, and of the superintending providence of an all-good Deity, whose favour he had always been assiduously endeavouring to deserve. Men fear death, he said, as if unquestionably the greatest evil; and yet no man knows that it may not be the

Plat. Phæd.

Plat. Apol.  
Socr. p. 29.

<sup>24</sup> "Ανυτον — τῶν μεγίστων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξιούμενον. Xen. Apol. Socr. s. 29. Anytus came forward as patron of the demiurgi. Plat. Apol. Socr. p. 23. E. What these were I find no information.

Xen. Apol.  
Socr. s. 7.  
& 23. & 27.  
& Mem. Socr.  
l. 4. c. 8. s. 6.  
& seq.

greatest good. If indeed great joys were in prospect, he and his friends for him, with somewhat more reason, might regret the event; but at his years, and with his scanty fortune, though he was happy enough, at seventy, still to preserve both body and mind in vigour, yet even his present gratifications must necessarily soon decay. To avoid therefore the evils of elderhood, pain, sickness, decay of sight, decay of hearing, perhaps decay of understanding, and this by the easiest of deaths (for such the Athenian mode of execution by a draught of hemlock was reputed), and cheered with the company of surrounding friends, could not be otherwise than a blessing.

Xen. Mem.  
Socr. l. 4. c. 4.  
s. 4. Plat.  
Apol. Socr.  
p. 34.

Xenophon says that, by condescending to a little supplication, Socrates might easily have obtained his acquittal. It was usual for accused persons, when brought before the court, to bewail their apprehended lot, with tears to supplicate favour, and by exhibiting their children upon the bema, to endeavour to excite pity. No admonition or entreaty of his friends however could persuade him to such an unworthiness. He thought it, he said, more respectful to the court, as well as more becoming himself, to omit all this; however aware that their sentiments were likely so far to differ from his that judgment would be given in anger for it. Accordingly, when put upon his defence, he told the people that he did not plead for his own sake, but for theirs, wishing them to avoid the guilt of an unjust sentence.

Plat. Apol.  
Socr. p. 30.

Condemnation pronounced wrought no change upon him. He again addressed the court, declared his innocence of the matters laid against him, and observed that, even if every charge had been completely proved, still all together did not, according to any known law, amount to a capital crime.

Xen. Apol.  
Socr. p. 24.

p. 25.



"But," in conclusion he said, "it is time to depart; I to die, you to live: but which for the greater good, God only knows."

Plat. Apol.  
Socr. in fine.

It was usual at Athens for execution very soon to follow condemnation; commonly on the morrow. But it happened that the condemnation of Socrates took place on the eve of the day appointed for the sacred ceremony of crowning the galley which carried the annual offerings to the gods worshipped at Delos: and immemorial tradition forbade all executions till the sacred vessel's return. Thus the death of Socrates was respited thirty days, while his friends had free access to him in the prison. During all that time he admirably supported his constancy. Means were concerted for his escape; the gaoler

Plat. Phæd.  
p. 58. l. 1.

was bribed, a vessel prepared, and a secure retreat in Thessaly provided. No arguments, no prayers could persuade him to use the opportunity. He had always taught the duty of obedience to the laws, and he would not furnish an example of the breach of it. To no purpose it was urged that he had been unjustly condemned: he had always held that wrong did not justify wrong. He waited with perfect composure the return of the sacred vessel, reasoned on the immortality of the soul, the advantage of virtue, the happiness derived from having made it through life his pursuit, and, with his friends about him, took the fatal cup, and died.

Xen. Mem.  
Socr. l. 4.

Plat. Crit.

[B. C.  
399. Cl. \*]

Writers who, after Xenophon and Plato, have related the death of Socrates, appear to have held themselves bound to vie with those who preceded them in giving pathos to the story. The purpose here has been rather to render it in-

[\* "Xenophon (Hel. i. 7. 15.) attests that Socrates was still living in B. C. 406—and in B. C. 401. Anabas. iii. 1. 5. That he died during the absence of Xenophon in Asia may be collected from Memor. iv. 8. 4." Clinton, Fasti Hellen. p. 91.]

telligible; to show its connection with the political history of Athens; to derive from it illustration of the political history. The magnanimity of Socrates, the principal efficient of the pathos, surely deserves admiration; yet it is not that in which he has most outshone other men. The circumstances of lord Russel's fate were far more trying. Socrates, we may reasonably suppose, would have borne lord Russel's trial: but, with bishop Burnet for his eulogist, instead of Plato and Xenophon, he would not have had his present splendid fame. The singular merit of Socrates lay in the purity and the usefulness of his manners and conversation; the clearness with which he saw, and the steadiness with which he practised, in a blind and corrupt age, all moral duties; the disinterestedness and the zeal with which he devoted himself to the benefit of others; and the enlarged and warm benevolence, whence his supreme and almost only pleasure seems to have consisted in doing good. The purity of Christian morality, little enough indeed seen in practice, nevertheless is become so familiar in theory that it passes almost for obvious, and even congenial to the human mind. Those only will justly estimate the merit of that near approach to it which Socrates made, who will take the pains to gather, as they may from the writings of his contemporaries and predecessors, how little conception was entertained of it before his time: how dull to a just moral sense the human mind has really been; how slow the progress in the investigation of moral duties, even where not only great pains have been taken, but the greatest abilities zealously employed; and, when discovered, how difficult it has been to establish them by proofs beyond controversy, or proofs even that should be generally admitted by the reason of men. It is through the light which Socrates diffused by his doctrine, enforced by his practice, with the advantage of having both the doctrine and the practice exhibited to highest advantage

in the incomparable writings of disciples such as Plato and Xenophon, that his life forms an era in the history of Athens and of man.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The life and manners of Socrates remain reported with authority not to be found for any other character of heathen antiquity. Two men of the best ability and best reputation, who had lived familiarly with him, but whom circumstances afterward separated, and set in some degree at variance, have each described them in much detail. No deficiency of knowledge of their subject can be suspected; nothing can be reprehended, in either account, on the score of probability: clearly, without concert, they agree; and each bears the fullest testimony to the integrity of Socrates, and to the purity of his manners, purity beyond even the precepts of that age, as well as to the excellence of his doctrine. On the contrary, those foul aspersions upon his character, which remain scattered among later ancient writers, and which the learned and ingenious author of *The Observer* has, now in our days, thought it worth his while to seek, to collect, and to exhibit in group, in a daylight which they had not before known, are reported neither on authority to bear any comparison with the single evidence of either Plato or Xenophon, much less with their united testimony; nor have they any probability to recommend them. They carry every appearance of having originated from the virulence of party-spirit, the spirit of that party which persecuted Socrates to death; and they have been propagated by writers in the profligate ages that followed, accommodating themselves to the taste of those ages, which their own profligacy, apparently, has led some of them to defend and to flatter. The propensity to involve men of former times, of best report, in the scandal of that gross immorality which disgraced the fall of Greece and of Rome, is conspicuous among some of the writers under the Roman empire.

The quarrel of the learned author of *The Observer* with Socrates has been taken up in revenge for the imputations which some admirers of the philosopher, with more zeal than either candour or good sense, have thrown upon the comic poet Aristophanes. The story reported by Ælian, that Aristophanes was bribed by Anytus and Melitus to write the comedy of *The Clouds*, purposely to prepare the way for the impeachment of Socrates, which did not follow till after so many years and so many revolutions in the government, is evidently absurd and malicious; and yet it is not impossible but that comedy may have contributed to the popular prejudices, which enabled the enemies of Socrates to procure his condemnation. We do not learn from Xenophon or Plato either what incited Aristophanes so to traduce Socrates, or how the poet and the philosopher afterward became, as from Plato it appears they did become, familiar friends. Possibly Aristophanes, when he wrote *The Clouds*, was little acquainted with Socrates, and possibly bore him no particular malice. His object seems to have been to stigmatise generally the quibbling of the sophists and to ridicule the trifling of the naturalists. Some of the principal jokes, measuring the flea's jump, and accounting for the gnat's noise, have no apparent relation to any doctrine or usual inquiry of Socrates; and possibly the philosopher may have been chosen for the hero of the piece only because he was more known to fame, more remarkable by his doctrine, by his manner, and, what might be a consideration for a comic poet, by his person, than any other public teacher.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE GREEKS IN ASIA AND THRACE  
FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR,  
IN WHICH PERSIA WAS THE ALLY OF LACEDÆMON, TO  
THE RENEWAL OF WAR BETWEEN LACEDÆMON AND  
PERSIA.

## SECTION I.

*Increased Connection of Grecian Affairs with Persian. — Succession of Artaxerxes Mnemon to the Persian Throne. — Weakness of the Persian Government. — Grecian Forces raised by Cyrus, Brother of the King. — Clearchus, Proxenus, Xenophon.*

IN the latter years of the Peloponnesian war the affairs of Greece became, as we have seen, more than formerly implicated with those of Persia; and, during the short calm which succeeded the long troubles of the former country, some events in the latter will require attention. The detail will lead far from Greece; but, beside involving information of Grecian affairs not found elsewhere, it has a very important connection with Grecian history, through the insight it affords into circumstances which prepared a revolution effected by Grecian arms, one of the greatest occurring in the annals of the world.

Ch. 20. s. 5. of  
this Hist.

By the event of the Peloponnesian war the Asian Greeks changed the dominion of Athens, not for that of Lacedæmon, the conquering Grecian power, but of a foreign, a barbarian master, the king of Persia, then the ally of Lacedæmon. Toward the end of the same year in which a conclusion was put to the war, by the taking of

Athens, Darius king of Persia, the second of the name, died. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Artaxerxes, also the second of his name, and, for his extraordinary memory, distinguished among the Greeks by the addition of Mnemon, the Mindful. The old king, in his last illness, desirous to see once more his favourite son Cyrus, sent for him from his government in Lydia. The prince, in obeying his father's requisition, travelled in the usual manner of the Eastern great, with a train amounting almost to an army; and, to exhibit in his guard the new magnificence of troops so much heard of in the upper provinces, but never yet seen, he engaged by large pay the attendance of three hundred heavy-armed Greeks, under the command of Xenias of Parrhasia in Arcadia. As a friend and counsellor, he took with him Tissaphernes, satrap of Caria.

On the decease of Darius, which followed shortly, a jealousy, scarcely separable from a despotic throne, but said to have been fomented by the unprincipled Tissaphernes, induced the new monarch to imprison his brother; whose death, it was supposed, in course would have followed, but for the powerful intercession of the queen-mother, Parysatis. Restored, through her influence, not only to liberty but to the great command intrusted to him by his indulgent father, Cyrus nevertheless resented highly the indignity he had suffered. He seems indeed to have owed little to his brother's kindness. Jealous of the abilities and popular character of Cyrus, apprehensive of his revenge, and perhaps not unreasonably also of his ambition, Artaxerxes practised that wretched oriental policy, still familiar with the Turkish government in the same countries, of exciting civil war between the commanders of his provinces, to disable them for making war against the throne. Orontas, a person related to the royal family, governor of the citadel of Sardis, was encouraged by the

Xen. Anab.  
l. 1. c. 1.

s. 4.

l. 1. c. 6.  
s. 1. 6, 7.

monarch's councils to rebel against that superior officer, under whose immediate authority, by those very councils, he was placed, and ostensibly still required to act. Cyrus subdued and forgave him. A second opportunity occurring, Orontas again rebelled; again found himself, notwithstanding the secret patronage of the court, unable to support his rebellion; and, soliciting pardon, obtained, from the generosity of Cyrus, not pardon only but favour. But according to report, to which Xenophon gave credit, the queen-mother herself, Parysatis, whether urged by the known enmity of Artaxerxes to Cyrus, or by whatever other cause, incited her younger son to seek the throne and life of the elder. Thus much however appears certain, that, very soon after his return into Asia Minor, Cyrus began preparations with that criminal view. For a pretence, it must be allowed, he seems not to have been totally without what the right of self-defence might afford; yet his principal motives evidently were ambition and revenge.

Xen. Anab.  
l. 1. c. 6. s. 7.  
l. 2. c. 5. s. 2.

The disjointed, tottering, and crumbling state of that empire, which, under the first Darius, appeared so well compacted, and really was so powerful and flourishing, favoured his views. Egypt, whose lasting revolt had been suppressed by the first Artaxerxes, was again in rebellion, and the fidelity of other distant provinces was more than suspected. Within his own extensive viceroyalty, the large province of Paphlagonia, governed by its own tributary prince, paid but a precarious obedience to the Persian throne; the Mysian and Pisidian mountaineers made open war upon the more peaceful subjects of the plains; and the Lycaonians, possessing themselves of the fortified places, held even the level country in independency, and refused the accustomed tribute. A large part of Lesser Asia was thus in rebellion, more or less avowed. Hence, on one hand, the attention

c. 6. s. 3.

l. 3. c. 2.  
s. 14.

of the king's councils and the exertion of his troops were engaged; on the other, an undeniable pretence was ready for Cyrus to increase the military force under his immediate authority.

Cyrus, on his first arrival in the neighbourhood of the Grecian colonies, became, as we have seen, partial to the Grecian character. The degeneracy, effeminacy, pride, servility, and falsehood, prevalent among the Assyrian and Median great, seem to have led the first Cyrus to establish as a maxim for the Persians, that to excel in drawing the bow, riding on horseback, and speaking truth, should be their characteristic, and the great object of Persian education. The younger Cyrus, born with a generous temper, and superior powers of body and mind, and excelling in the two former requisites, would be likely to conceive a proud value for the latter; and, at an early age, to abhor and despise the duplicity and baseness in which the Persian were no longer distinguished from the Median and Assyrian courtiers. With a mind capable of friendship, and naturally solicitous for the esteem of those like himself, the superior character of men bred in the schools of Lyncurgus, Anaxagoras, and Socrates, and formed in the wars and political turbulence of the Grecian commonwealths, could not fail to strike him. His vanity would co-operate with his judgment in courting their good opinion; and, as his penetration discovered the use to be made of them, even his ambition would lead him to cultivate their friendship.

Ch. 20. s. 1.  
of this Hist.

Anab. 1. 7.  
c. 7. s. 3.

As soon as the design against his brother's throne was decided, Cyrus, with increased sedulity, extended his connections among the Greeks. They alone, among the nations of that time, knew how to train armies, so that thousands of men might act as one machine. Hence their heavy-armed had a power, in the shock of battle, that no number of more irregular troops, however brave, could resist. To men of

character therefore, from any part of Greece, but especially from Peloponnesus, whose heavy-armed were of highest reputation, introduction to Cyrus was easy. The fame of his munificence and of his liberal manner invited; and many became connected with him by the pledge of hospitality, which, with the Persians, not less than among the Greeks, was held sacred. Through the long and extensive war lately concluded, Greece abounded with experienced officers, and with men of inferior rank, much practised in arms, and little in any peaceful way of livelihood. Opportunity was thus ready for raising a force of Grecian mercenaries, almost to any amount. What required circumspection was to avoid alarming the court of Susa; and this the defective principles and worse practice of the Persian administration made even easy.

Xen. Hel. The superintending command of Cyrus extended over all Lesser Asia within the river Halys. The large province, committed to his immediate government, was composed of Lydia, the Greater Anab. 1. 1. c. 9. s. 5. c. 1. s. 6. Phrygia, and Cappadocia. The Ionian cities had been reserved to the satrapy of Tissaphernes. But the prince's character was popular, the satrap's unpopular; in-somuch that, finding their offered homage acceptable, all those cities, excepting Miletus, paid their appointed tribute to Cyrus, and no longer acknowledged the satrap's orders. To contest such matters by arms was become so ordinary among the Persian governors, that raising troops for the purpose was little likely to give umbrage to the court; care-less how the provinces were administered, provided only the expected tribute came regularly to the treasury. Cyrus therefore directed his Grecian commanders, in the several towns, to enlist Greeks, especially Peloponnesians, as many as they could; with the pretence of strengthening his garri-sons against the apprehended attempts of Tissaphernes. In



Miletus, so the popularity of his character prevailed, a conspiracy was formed for revolting to him; but before it could be carried into effect, it was discovered; and, by the satrap's order, the ringleaders were executed, and many of their adherents banished. Cyrus not only protected the fugitives, but besieged Miletus by land and sea; and this new war furnished an additional pretence for levying troops.

Notwithstanding the character of frankness, honour, and strict regard for truth, which Cyrus generally supported, the candour of Xenophon, his friend and panegyrist, has not concealed from us that he could stoop to duplicity when the great interest of his ambition instigated. So far from acknowledging any purpose of disobedience

Anab. 1. 1.  
c. 1. s. 8.

to the head of the empire, he condescended to request from that brother, against whose throne and life his preparations were already directed, the royal authority for adding Ionia to his immediate government. The request was granted; at the instance, it was said, of Parysatis, who preserved much influence with her elder son, while she incited the nefarious views of the younger against him. Concerning intrigues in the Persian court however we should perhaps allow our belief cautiously, even to Xenophon: but we may readily give him credit for that weakness of the government which, he affirms, induced the king to be pleased, rather than offended, at the private war between his brother and the satrap; inasmuch as, by consuming their means in the distant provinces, it might prevent disturbance from their ambition to the interior of the empire.

Among the many Greeks admitted to the conversation and to the table of Cyrus, was Clearchus, a Lacedæmonian; who, after serving in the armies of his own commonwealth, through the Peloponnesian war, found himself, at the age of fifty, still uneasy in rest. Seeking opportunity for military employ-

s. 9.

l. 2. c. 6. s. 2.

ment, he thought he had discovered it in the Thracian Chersonese, where the Greek settlers were harassed by incursions of the neighbouring barbarians ; and he persevered in representation and solicitation to the ephors till he obtained a commission for a command there. Hastening his departure, at Corinth an order of recall overtook him. The disappointment was more than he could bear ; he resolved to disobey the revered scytale ; and proceeded, in defiance of it, to act in pursuance of his commission received. For this he was, in absence, condemned to death : a sentence operating to his banishment for life.

What fair hope now remained to Clearchus does not appear ; but the need of military talents, continually and extensively occurring among the various warring commonwealths and scattered colonies of the Greeks, always offered some prospect for adventurers of any considerable military reputation ; and, in the moment, a still more inviting field, possibly always in his view, appeared in the court of Cyrus. Thither he went, and, under a forbidding outside, a surly countenance, a harsh voice, and rough manners, the prince, discovering in him a character he wanted, after short intercourse made him a present of ten thousand darics, near eight thousand pounds sterling.

Clearchus did not disappoint this magnificent generosity. Military command and military adventure were his supreme delight ; and, in the circumstances of the age, a body of men under his orders was an estate. Employing therefore the whole of the prince's present in raising troops, he offered, as an individual adventurer, that protection to the Chersonesites which, as a general of the Lacedæmonian forces, he had been commissioned to give, but which the Lacedæmonian government, though claiming to be the protecting power of the Grecian name, had finally refused to afford. His service was accepted ; and his success against the

barbarians, together with the uncommon regularity and inoffensiveness of his troops in the friendly country, so gratified, not the Chersonesites only, but all the Hellespontine Greeks, that, while he generally found subsistence at the expense of the enemy, they provided large pay for his army by voluntary contribution. Hence, with a discipline severe sometimes to excess, he preserved the general attachment of those under him; and thus a body of troops was kept in the highest order, ready for the service of Cyrus.

The circumstances of Thessaly afforded another opportunity. Aristippus, a Thessalian of eminence, probably banished by faction, had been admitted to the prince's familiarity. Returning afterward to his own country, and becoming head of his party, divisions were still such that civil war followed. Then Aristippus thought he might profit from that claim which the ancient doctrine of hospitality gave him upon the generosity of Cyrus. He requested levy-money for two thousand men, with pay for three months. Cyrus granted them for four thousand, and six months; only stipulating that without previous communication with him no accommodation should be concluded with the adverse party. Thus another body of troops, unnoticed, was maintained for Cyrus.

Proxenus, a Theban of the first rank and highest connections, happy in his talents, cultivated under the celebrated Gorgias, of manners to win, and character to deserve esteem, dissatisfied with the state of things in his own city, passed, at the age of toward thirty, to the court of Cyrus, with the direct purpose of seeking employment, honour, and fortune; and, in Xenophon's phrase, of so associating with men in the highest situations that he might earn the means of doing, rather than lie under the necessity of receiving, favours. Recommended by such advantages Proxenus not only obtained the notice, but won the friendship of Cyrus; who

commissioned him to raise a Grecian force, pretended for a purpose which the Persian court could not disapprove, the reduction of the rebellious Pisidians.

Thus engaged in the prince's service, it became the care of Proxenus to obtain in his foreign residence the society of a friend, of disposition, acquirements, and pursuits congenial to his own. With this view he wrote to a young

Anab. 1. 3.  
c. 1. s. 4-7.

Athenian<sup>1</sup>, with whom he had long had intimacy, Xenophon son of Gryllus, a scholar of Socrates; warmly urging him to come and partake of the prince's favour, to which he engaged to introduce him. In the actual state of things at Athens enough might occur to disgust honest ambition. Xenophon therefore, little satisfied with any prospect there, accepted his friend's invitation; and to these circumstances we owe his beautiful narrative of the ensuing transactions, which remains, like the Iliad, the oldest and the model of its kind.<sup>2</sup>

For a Grecian land force Cyrus contented himself with what might be procured by negotiation with individuals and the allurements of pay. But he desired the co-operation of a Grecian fleet, which, in the existing circumstances of Greece, could be obtained only through favour of the

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 1. s. 1.

Lacedæmonian government. By a confidential minister therefore despatched to Lacedæmon, he claimed a friendly return for his assistance in the war with Athens. The ephors, publicly acknowledging the justness of his claim, sent orders to Samius, then commanding on the Asiatic station, to join the prince's fleet, and follow the directions of his admiral, Tamos, an Egyptian.

<sup>12</sup> Two notes proposed to warrant the text, but not wanted for elucidation, are referred, on account of their length, to the end of the chapter.

## SECTION II.

*March of Cyrus to Babylonia. — Battle of Cunaxa.*

PREPARATION being completed, and the advantageous season for action approaching, all the Ionian garrisons were ordered to Sardis, and put under the command of Xenias, the Arcadian, commander of the Grecian guard which had attended Cyrus into Upper Asia. The other Grecian troops were directed to join; some at Sardis, some at places farther eastward. A very large army of Asiatics, whom the Greeks called collectively barbarians, was at the same time assembled. The pretence of these great preparations was to exterminate the rebellious Pisidians; and, in the moment, it sufficed for the troops. It could however no longer blind Tissaphernes; who, not choosing to trust others Xen. Anab. l. 1. c. 2. s. 4. to report what he knew or suspected, set off, with all the speed that the way of travelling of an Eastern satrap would admit, with an escort of five hundred horse, to communicate personally with the king.

Meanwhile Cyrus marched from Sardis, with s. 5—9. B. C. 401. Ol. 94. 3. April. the forces already collected, by Colossæ to Cælænæ in Phrygia, a large and populous town, where he halted thirty days. There he was joined by the last division of his Grecian forces, which now amounted to about eleven thousand heavy-armed, and two thousand targeteers. His Asiatics or barbarians were near a hundred thousand. Proceeding then northward he halted again at Peltæ. There he gave a very strong and gratifying mark of attention to the Greeks. It was the season of the Arcadian festival called Lycæa, whence the Romans had their Lupercalia. The Arcadians of the army were desirous to celebrate the festival with games and all religious rites, after the manner of their own country. Not only he allowed all oppor-

tunity for this, but he paid them the compliment himself to attend.

In his great undertaking indeed every exertion of his talent for acquiring popularity was wanted. Either he had met with some great disappointment, of which we are uninformed, or he set out unprovided with the first requisite, money, to a degree far beyond what prudence could justify. Only fifty-two days had elapsed since the army moved from Sardis, when the pay of the Grecian forces was three months in arrear, and he was without means to furnish it. Discontent of course arose, and grew, insomuch that the soldiers would urge their clamorous demands, even to his very door. Much good sense, some experience, and earnest meditation on great designs, had taught Cyrus to respect men who must be instruments of those designs. Hence he had learned to check the impetuous passions, whose sallies had sometimes disgraced his earlier youth. He would himself often give a patient hearing to the soldiers: he would soothe them with expressions of sorrow for his present inability; he would cheer them with the prospect of better times, and with promises, in which his known generosity disposed them to confide; and he never failed to dismiss them hoping, and in some degree gratified.

It seems probable that Cyrus had been negotiating with Syennesis, who reigned over the rich maritime province of Cilicia, holding it, if we may use a modern term very nearly apposite, as a fief of the Persian empire. To pass from Lydia into Assyria, the immense ridge which, under various names, Taurus, Caucasus, and others, extends from the south-western corner of Asia Minor to the Caspian sea, must necessarily be crossed; everywhere with much difficulty and danger to an army if an enemy opposed; but the nearest way and the best was through Cilicia. It was therefore of much importance to Cyrus to gain Syennesis to his

interest; or, if that could not be, to deter opposition from him. But the situation of the Cilician prince was critical. Acceding to the requisition of Cyrus, he hazarded the charge of concurring in rebellion against the great king; refusing it, he might be overwhelmed by the prince's army before assistance from the king could arrive. Hence seem to have arisen the circumstances, of strange and mysterious appearance, which followed. Proceeding from Peltæ, Anab. i. 1. c. 2. s. 12. the army encamped in the plain of Cáystrus, near a large town whence it was supplied with provisions; but, no pay forthcoming, the discontent of the Greeks became such that their officers with difficulty kept them within any bounds. In this state of things the arrival of Epyaxa, wife of Syennesis, with a strong escort of horse, part Cilician, part Greeks of Aspendus, drew general attention; and shortly, to the surprise almost equally as to the gratification of the army, pay was issued for four months. The means were universally attributed to the Cilician princess.

Orders being given for resuming the march, the Greeks now proceeded cheerfully. Epyaxa, with her escort, accompanied the army, moving as the Persian prince moved, and encamping as he encamped; not without insult to her fame from the licentious mouths of the soldiers. At Tyriæum, to gratify her, it was said, Cyrus reviewed his forces. The barbarian troops first marched by. Then Cyrus in an open, Epyaxa in a covered carriage, passed along the Grecian line, which was formed four deep; the soldiers uniformly armed and clothed, with brazen helmets, scarlet tunics, greaves, and burnished shields. Taking a station in front, Cyrus sent orders to advance with protended spears. The trumpet immediately giving the signal, the phalanx moved, and gradually quickening pace, at length advanced running, shouting at the same time aloud, in the usual measured way of the Greeks, widely different from the irregular clamours of the

barbarians. Twelve thousand men, uniformly armed, exactly formed, moving regularly, and shouting regularly, as if one machine, were a sight so new to the Asiatics as to excite alarm with astonishment. Epyaxa, for quicker flight, quitted her cumbrous carriage, and every sutler ran from the camp. The Greeks were amused and flattered, and Cyrus was not anxious to conceal his satisfaction at the terror which they could thus easily excite among the Asiatics.

Anab. i. 1.  
c. 2. s. 19.

In three days then the army arrived at Iconium, the last town of Phrygia. Here it was on the border of the rebellious provinces, the pretended object of the expedition. Its force was much greater than the rebels could undertake to encounter. During five days' march through Lycaonia the Greeks had permission to plunder, and they met with no opposition, or none worth their historian's notice. In Lycaonia the Cilician princess took leave of Cyrus, to go by the nearest road across the mountains into her own country. In compliment, real or pretended, her escort was augmented with a body of Greeks, under the orders of Menon, a young Thessalian, who held the immediate command of the troops raised by Aristippus. The circumstances altogether seem to indicate that the object of her extraordinary visit had been political; to divert the Persian prince from his purpose of passing through Cilicia; and that the hope, still entertained, of obtaining by negotiation what had been denied to the first solicitation, induced her to accompany his march so long. Cyrus however persevered in his intention, though in uncertainty whether Syennesis would not oppose his passing the mountains. The more important object therefore, in detaching Menon, was to open a communication with the fleet under Tamos and Samius, which had been ordered to the Cilician coast, and, by a force within the country, possessing that communication, to make the passage of the

s. 20.



mountains, in all events, more secure for the body of the army.

Meanwhile the prince, moving still eastward through Cappadocia, in four days reached Dana, Anab. l. 1. c. 2. s. 20, 21. a large and populous town, whence a formed carriage-way, the best across the rugged ridge of Taurus, led directly to Tarsus, the Cilician capital; steep however in many parts, and commanded, so that a very small force might stop a large army. No intelligence had yet arrived from Menon, and report was circulated that Syennesis in person, with a powerful body of troops, had occupied the heights commanding the passage. During the halt, which these circumstances occasioned, two Persian officers of high rank were executed. Rumour went of a conspiracy; but the usual secrecy of a despotic administration denied all particulars to public knowledge.

After three days' delay the satisfactory intelligence arrived, that the passage of the mountains was open; that the detachment under Menon was already within the ridge; and, what had contributed not a little to deter the opposition meditated by Syennesis, that the fleet was on the coast. The highlands were accordingly traversed without opposition, and the army, proceeding in four days above eighty miles, through a well-watered, highly cultivated, and very fruitful vale, bounded by lofty mountains, arrived at Tarsus.

With surprise and regret it was found that this large and lately flourishing town had been plundered, and was nearly deserted: even the prince's palace had been stripped; and Syennesis, with the principal inhabitants, had withdrawn to a strong hold on the neighbouring mountains to avoid farther injury from Menon. Cyrus had not penetrated this young man's character through a fair exterior so happily as that of the veteran Clearchus under a forbidding aspect. Menon possessed very considerable talents, recommended by an ele-

gant person and an engaging manner; but he had a most depraved mind, with an inordinate appetite for riches and pleasure, unrestrained by either fear or shame. In attributing this to him, says Xenophon, I give him but his well-known due. The alleged provocation for his violences at Tarsus was an attack among the defiles, in which a hundred Greeks had fallen. The loss had certainly been sustained; but the Cilicians averred that the intolerable rapines of Menon, as he traversed the country, had provoked the attack. Cyrus sent a message to Syennesis, requiring his attendance in Tarsus. The Cilician answered, "That he never had appeared before a superior, nor would he now." Epyaxa however interfering as mediatrix, Syennesis, after receiving solemn assurance of safety, obeyed the requisition. An exchange was then made of honours for money. Syennesis

Anab. I. 1.  
c. 2. s. 27.

advanced a very large sum to Cyrus, and received, in return, says the historian, such gifts as are held honourable among princes; a horse with a golden bit, a chain of gold, bracelets, a golden battle-axe, a Persian robe, and a promise that his country should be no farther plundered; and moreover that stolen slaves, wherever found, should be restored to their owners; the only reparation, apparently, ever proposed for the plunder of the capital.

c. 3. s. 1.

Cyrus halted in Tarsus twenty days. In this leisure the Greeks observed among one another that the Pisidian mountains were now left far behind them; that the pretence of war there had evidently been a fallacy; and many circumstances gave to suspect that the prince's real design was against his brother's throne. Of the generals Clearchus only was in the secret; but the others were mostly ready to concur in a project which, with considerable danger indeed, held out the hope of immense reward. The soldiers however, for whom the allurements was not equal, were less disposed to the toil and the perils; and, when at length

orders came for marching still eastward, they universally declared, it was for no such distant service they had engaged themselves, and they would go no farther. Clearchus immediately resorted to his usual rough means of compulsion; but they were no longer borne; the mutiny broke out with violence; stones were thrown, first at his sumpter horses, then at himself, and with difficulty he escaped alive.

Information of these circumstances gave Cyrus the deepest anxiety. He had already advanced too far to retreat with either honour or safety; and deprived of his regular infantry, his force would be too inferior for any reasonable hope of success against the myriads of the great king. But the able and experienced Clearchus did not so cease to trust in his own ability to sway the minds of men. He desired a meeting of his people, as in civil assembly, and they came quietly together. Addressing them in terms Anab. l. 1. c. 3. s. 2—6. tending only to reconciliation and the recovery of their confidence, they listened patiently. Protesting then that he would neither oppose nor desert them, he said, if they thought him unworthy any longer to command, he would obey. Not only his own people declared their attachment, but more than two thousand others, s. 7. of the body drawn from the Ionian garrisons, hitherto under the Arcadian Xenias, and the troops raised for the siege of Miletus, under Pasion of Megara, now, without regarding any longer the orders of those generals, arranged themselves under the command of Clearchus.

But, in resolving to proceed no farther with Cyrus, the means of returning to Ionia had been little considered by the soldiers; how the passage of the mountains was to be secured, and how, without pay, subsistence was to be obtained. More meetings were held; various and contrary opinions were urged; and the perplexity was so skilfully managed by Clearchus and his confidential officers, that,

disagreeing on every other proposal, it was at length universally resolved to send Clearchus himself, with some others, to demand of the prince on what service he meant to employ them. Cyrus, being duly prepared by private communication, received the deputation graciously, and in answer said that, "according to intelligence lately arrived, his enemy the satrap of Syria, Abrocomas, was encamped on the bank of the Euphrates, only twelve days march from Tarsus. If he found him there, he meant to take vengeance on him; if not, he would there consult with them what measure should next be taken."

Anab. l. 1.  
c. 3. s. 20.

This speech did not deceive the Greeks; but it might encourage, by showing them, as it strongly marks to posterity, the incoherent texture of the Persian government, where the purpose of private war against the governor of a great province, so near the centre of the empire, might be boldly avowed by the governor of another province, still maintaining the pretence of allegiance to the throne. Their per-

s. 21.

plexity therefore not being in any degree relieved if they persisted in their first resolution, they presently came to a determination to profit as they might from the existing circumstances, and to use them for a pretence to demand an increase of pay rather than, by deserting the prince's service, to go without pay. Cyrus readily gratified them with the promise of an additional half daric monthly; their former monthly pay having been a daric, rather more than sixpence daily.

The march was now quietly resumed, and in five days the army reached Issus, a large and wealthy seaport near the eastern limit of Cilicia. The fleet was already arrived there, consisting of twenty-five Phenician

c. 2. s. 21.  
Xen. Hel. l. 3.  
c. 1. s. 1.

and thirty-five Grecian ships. The Egyptian Tamos commanded in chief. The Lacedæmonian admiral Pythagoras, who, according to the usual yearly

change in the Lacedæmonian service, had superseded Samius, served under him. They brought an acceptable addition to the land force, seven hundred heavy-armed Greeks, commanded by Chirisophus, a Lacedæmonian. Another re-enforcement soon after arrived at Issus, small in itself, but, from the attending circumstances, highly gratifying to Cyrus. It consisted of about four hundred Grecian heavy-armed, who had been in the service of Abrocomas, satrap of Syria: so far did the Greeks now wander in quest of military pay, and so extensively were their valour and discipline in request. Whether the treatment they had met with disgusted, or the fame of the prince's liberality allured, all deserted the satrap, and offered themselves in a body to Cyrus; professing their readiness to march anywhere under his orders, though it should be against the king himself.

Less than twenty miles beyond Issus eastward the ridge of Taurus meets the shore, so that a narrow way only, under lofty precipices against the sea, remains practicable for an army. Two fortresses commanded this pass; one on the Syrian side, garrisoned by the great king; the other on the Cilician side, held by the king of Cilicia; for so far the Cilician king was a sovereign. Opposition was expected here from Abrocomas, such as might prevent or very inconveniently delay the army's progress. Had such been found, it was proposed to transport the troops by sea to Phenicia. But the satrap, though said to have had three hundred thousand men under his command, left the narrow unguarded, and the army entered Syria unresisted.

The next halt was at Myriandrus, a Phenician seaport of considerable trade. There the Grecian generals Pasion and Xenias, without giving any notice of their purpose, embarked aboard a merchant-ship with

Anab. 1. 1.  
c. 4. s. 4.

s. 5.

s. 6.

s. 7.

their effects, and sailed for Greece. No cause for this desertion was known; unless that those of the troops formerly under their orders, which, on occasion of the mutiny at Tarsus, had seceded to Clearchus, remained still under that general, and that Cyrus had not interfered to require their return under obedience to their former commanders. The uncereemonious departure of those generals however excited alarm among some, and indignation among most of the Greeks; and it gave great uneasiness, with very just cause, to Cyrus. In the necessity of courting, at the same time, and in the same camp, the attachment of troops so differing in manners, sentiments, and prejudices, as the Greeks and Orientals, it would often be difficult to decide how to manage command, so as to offend neither the proud servility of these, nor the turbulent independency of the others. To carry an equal and steady discipline indeed would be scarcely possible: but Cyrus seems, in all his communication with the Greeks, to have shown a superior mind, and not least upon the

Anab. i. 1.  
c. 4. s. 8.

present occasion. Calling together the generals, he said, "Pasion and Xenias had left him. It would however be easy for his triremes to overtake their heavy vessel, and bring them back, if such could be his purpose. But they were free to go, with the consciousness which must attend them that they deserved worse of him than he of them. Their wives and children, residing at Tralles, hostages at his command, should also be restored to them: for those who had once served him well should never experience severity from him for merely quitting his service."

s. 9.

His conduct altogether, very grateful to the Greeks, infused new alacrity among them, so that a general readiness appeared for proceeding still eastward. A fortnight's march then brought the army to the large town of Thapsacus on the Euphrates. There Cyrus declared to the Grecian generals that his purpose

s. 10, 11.

was against his brother the great king, and desired them to communicate the information to the soldiers, and endeavour to engage their willing service. Long as this had been suspected, the communication, now at length made, was not well received. The soldiers accused their commanders of concealing from them a matter so interesting, which themselves had long known; though in reality Clearchus alone had been intrusted with the secret. Among various murmurs it was observed by some that, if they went on, they should deserve at least a gratuity equal to what those had received who, under the command of Xenias, had attended Cyrus when he went to visit the late king his father. These circumstances being reported to the prince, he immediately promised a gratuity, considerably exceeding the demand, to the amount of sixteen pounds sterling for every soldier arriving at Babylon, and their full pay besides till they should reach Ionia again.

Anab. l. 1.  
c. 4. s. 12.

s. 13.

While some expressed themselves highly satisfied with so liberal a promise from one unaccustomed to fall short of his promises, others yet hesitated at the prospect of so hazardous an enterprise at such a distance from their own country. Menon had the address to persuade his people to earn the first favour of a generous prince, who, were they only true to him and to themselves, would be soon by far the greatest monarch in the world. Before the general resolution of the army could be collected Cyrus gave the word to march, and was obeyed. The Euphrates, whose occasional violence denied bridges, whose depth in that part very rarely admitted fording, and from whose banks all boats had been removed by the care of Abrocomas, happened to be then just fordable. Menon led through; his troops followed, and immediately began to encamp on the other side. An officer was presently dispatched to them with the prince's thanks, and assurance that it should be his care to deserve

s. 14—17.

their thanks; with the emphatical expression added, that, if he failed, they should no longer call him Cyrus. The service was indeed very important, for the example was immediately decisive; the whole army crossed the river, and encamped on the left bank.

Anab. l. 1.  
c. 4. s. 18.  
c. 5. s. 1.

The Greeks being thus at length clearly engaged in war against the king, the army moved again, and in nine days reached the Mesopotamian desert; described by Xenophon, under the name of Arabia, level as the sea; not a tree to be seen; every shrub and herb, even to the very reeds, aromatic; but the principal produce

s. 4.

wormwood: its birds and beasts, bustards and ostriches, antelopes and wild asses. Five days this dreary country was traversed, to Corsota, a large deserted town on the river Mascas; and there provisions were distributed for the formidable march of near three hundred miles<sup>2</sup>, through a still more barren region, to the gate, as it

s. 5, 6.

was called, of the fruitful Mesopotamia. Thirteen days were employed in this passage, in which corn failed the men, and forage the cattle, insomuch that many of the latter died. Some relief was at length obtained from a large town on the other side of the Euphrates; but, during the halt made for the purpose, a dissension arose among the Greeks which threatened the most fatal consequences. In the fear of giving umbrage, Cyrus had allowed each Grecian general to retain the independent command of the troops which had been under his orders before they assembled; himself alone acting as immediate commander-in-chief of the Grecian forces. But a dispute arising between

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon has given the measure in parasangs; but they were computed only, and of course uncertain. According to the common allowance of four miles to a parasang, the distance would be more than three hundred miles. Those who desire critical information concerning the geography of the Anabasis, will find advantage in consulting Forster's Dissertation annexed to Spelman's translation, and Vincent's Voyage of Nearchus.



some of Menon's soldiers and those of Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian general took upon himself to judge it, and ordered one of Menon's men to be whipped. It is, I believe, the first instance recorded of such a military punishment among the Greeks ; unless the chastisement of Thersites by Ulysses, reported in the *Iliad*, might be considered as such. On the same day Clearchus, riding with a small escort through Menon's camp, was assaulted by the incensed comrades of the punished soldier, with such violence that his life was endangered. Escaping however to his own camp, his anger so overcame his prudence that he called his people to arms ; and the fortunately ready intervention of Proxenus, with admonition and entreaty, judiciously supported by the sight of armed troops at hand, hardly restrained his fury. It gave time however for Cyrus himself to interfere. Hastening to the Grecian line, he addressed the generals with this remarkable admonition : " Of the consequences of what you are about I am sure you are not aware. If you fight with one another, that very day I shall be cut off, and then your fate will not be distant. For this whole Asiatic army, if they see our affairs go ill, instantly will turn against us, and, in studious display of enmity to us, will even exceed the king's forces." Clearchus felt the sensible, pathetic, and endearing rebuke, and quiet was restored in the Grecian camp.

The army marching again had already entered the fruitful Mesopotamia, called also Babylonia, <sup>Anab. 1. 1.  
c. 7. s. 1.</sup> when a letter was delivered to Cyrus, indicating a most dangerous treachery. Orontas, his kinsman, <sup>c. 6. s. 1, 2, 3.</sup> whom we have seen twice in arms against him, and still restored to favour and confidence, held a great command in the army. Apparently his extensive credit and influence, and, amid the general deficiency of the Persian officers, his superior military reputation, made his assistance so desirable, and even necessary for the expedition, that

much was knowingly hazarded to obtain it. The letter was from Orontas himself to the king, communicating intelligence, and promising service.

In this danger from his Persian followers we see a reason for the prince's attachment to his Greeks, perhaps not less weighty than that arising from his knowledge of their superiority as soldiers. From the moment they were decidedly engaged in the enterprise, their interest was much more inseparably blended with his than that of perhaps any of his

Anab. 1. 1.  
c. 6. s. 4.

Asiatics. Orontas therefore being arrested, and

seven of the principal Persian officers summoned as a military council or court-martial to the prince's tent, three thousand Greeks were ordered on guard around, and Clearchus was called in to assist at the deliberation. Cyrus himself explained the prisoner's crimes, and all that he said was allowed by Orontas to be true. If the proceedings of a Persian military tribunal were not decided by any very well-regulated system of distributive justice, we shall not

s. 6—9.

wonder. But Cyrus seems to have been desirous

to show that, not the uncereemonious decision only of a despotic government, but the fixed rules of a free people, would condemn Orontas. He called upon Clearchus first to declare his opinion. The inattention of the Spartan general to any principle, such as the fame of his republic for equal law might give to expect, and the declaration of his decision, on the contrary, by a rule of mere convenience, so adapted to purposes of tyranny that it might serve as a complete code of criminal jurisprudence for a Turkish bashaw, may indeed excite surprise. "I think," said Clearchus, as the Athenian philosopher, without a comment, reports his speech, "that the prisoner deserves death, and I advise that it be inflicted; that so the necessity of constantly watching secret enemies may not prevent exertions for the advantage of our friends." But, whatever may be

thought of Clearchus as a lawyer, he was undoubtedly a politician. His argument at once decided the court. Though some of the members were nearly related to the prisoner, all voted for his death. The prince himself pronounced condemnation. Orontas was then conducted to the tent of Artapatas. As he passed, an instance of the decency of Persian manners excited the admiration of the Greeks : though the sentence had been made public, yet all the crowd showed him the same reverence as when in the height of his power and most in favour with the prince. After entering the tent of Artapatas, he was never more seen, nor was it ever known to the Greeks by what kind of execution he died, or how his body was disposed of. The other circumstances were not denied to the public ; and, as Clearchus related to his friends what passed in the prince's tent, it comes to us from the pen of Xenophon with an authority seldom to be found for such transactions.

Anab. l. 1.  
c. 6. s. 10.

s. 11.

s. 5.

Treachery and sedition being thus checked, the army moved, and, after three days' march in Babylon, it was expected on the morrow to meet the king's forces. The want of system in the command of the Grecian troops was now in some degree remedied. Cyrus directed that, for the order of battle, Clearchus should command the right wing, and Menon the left. Next morning some deserters bringing accounts, supposed more certain, of the enemy's approach, Cyrus sent for the Greek generals and lochages, and spoke to them in these remarkable terms :

c. 7. s. 1.  
B. C. 401.  
Ol. 94. 4.  
Sept.

Anab. l. 1.  
c. 7. s. 2.

“ It was not, as you will readily suppose, in any want of your numbers to swell my army, that I engaged you in my service, but in the belief that you were much superior to far greater numbers of barbarians. What therefore I have now to desire of you is, that you show

s. 3, 4.

yourselves worthy of that freedom which you inherit, and for which I esteem you fortunate; and I profess to you that I should myself prefer that freedom to all I possess, or to much greater possessions held at the arbitrary will of another.

“For the battle we expect, it may be proper then to apprise you that the enemy’s multitude will appear formidable; that their shout of onset will be imposing; but, if you are firm against these, I am even ashamed to say what contemptible soldiers you will find my fellow-countrymen to be. You then only exerting yourselves as may be expected, I am confident of acquiring means equal to my wishes, to send those home the envy of their country, who may desire to return home; but I trust the far greater number of you will prefer the advantages which I shall have opportunity to offer in my service.”

Anab. l. 1. c. 7.  
s. 5, 6, 7.

Gaulites, a Samian, replied to this speech, declaring plainly the doubts of the army, both of the prince’s disposition and of his ability, whatever their services and his success might be, to perform such magnificent promises. But Gaulites was in the prince’s confidence<sup>3</sup>; and Xenophon’s account altogether gives reason to suppose that his reply was preconcerted. It gave opportunity however for Cyrus, in a second speech, to remove

<sup>3</sup> Πιστὸς Κύρῳ. — *Cyro fidus*. — *A man of fidelity to Cyrus*. Spelman.

Thus the translators. But the different sense I have given, being, I think, unquestionably warranted by the original, I have no doubt in preferring it. Yet it seems as if Spelman thought πιστὸς would bear no other sense than that expressed in his translation; for in another place he has given the same interpretation of the same word, where the context would lead to suppose it wholly unwarrantable. Οἱ ἦσαν Κύρῳ πιστότατοι, is said, by the historian, of men in the very act of a signal treachery. (Anab. l. 2. c. 5. s. 9.) This Spelman translates, *who had shown the greatest fidelity to Cyrus*. It appears, I must own, to me not at all intended by the historian to give so honourable a testimony to such men, but, on the contrary, to show in a stronger light their base falsehood, by remarking that they had been much in the confidence of Cyrus.

all distrust, and he dismissed those first called, and others afterwards admitted, full of high hopes for themselves, and zeal for his service, which were communicated through the army. The transaction altogether shows that Cyrus had studied the Grecian character carefully and successfully.

The Grecian forces being thus prepared, (what <sup>Anab. l. 1. c. 7. s. 11, 12, 13.</sup> passed in the Asiatic line, probably little known, is seldom noticed by Xenophon,) the whole army marched in order of battle. Only five miles onward, a wide and deep trench, extending above forty miles, had been formed purposely to obstruct the prince's progress. The canals, little distant, connecting the Euphrates and the Tigris, gave opportunity to float it, so as to form a strong line of defence to the country beyond. After so much expense and labour, in so advantageous and important a situation, strong opposition to the passage of that trench was expected. The tracks however only of a multitude of retreating men and horses were found there. Upon this occasion a remarkable instance occurred of Persian respect for Grecian superstition; heightened however possibly by the existing urgency, which made the service of the Greeks so important. On the eleventh day before the arrival of the <sup>s. 14.</sup> army at the trench, an Ambraciot soothsayer, named Silanus, sacrificing, had boldly asserted, as what his skill in divination enabled him to foretell, that, within ten days, the king would not fight. This being reported to Cyrus, whether pleased with the prognostic itself, or only seconding the encouragement it might infuse into others, especially the Greeks, he answered, "Then he will not fight at all; and if the event justifies the prophecy, I will give the soothsayer ten talents." Mindful of his word, he accordingly sent for Silanus, and gave him three thousand darics; being, in Persian money, the full amount of ten Attic talents, and more than two thousand pounds sterling.

But, whatever credit might be really given to the Ambra-  
ciot, the total desertion of a defence, formed with so much  
labour and cost, led Cyrus and his principal advisers to  
believe that the king meant to avoid a battle. Next day

Anab. i. 1.  
c. 7. s. 15.

therefore order was less diligently kept, and in  
the following morning, the prince himself quitting  
his horse for his chariot, the whole army assumed the im-  
provident carelessness of a peaceful march; many of the  
soldiers, as the sun got high, to relieve themselves in the  
oppressive heat, committing their heavy armour to the wag-

c. 8. s. 1.

gons and sumpter-horses. The proposed day's  
progress was nearly completed, when Patagyas, a  
Persian of rank, came urging his fainting horse's speed, and,  
as he passed, calling out, in Persian to the Asiatics, in  
Greek to the Greeks, "that the king's army was approach-  
ing in order of battle." Tumult pervaded the extensive

s. 2.

line; all imagining the enemy would be upon  
them before they could be duly formed. Cyrus  
leaped from his chariot, armed himself, mounted his horse,  
and hastily issued his orders.

s. 5.

The disposition for battle was nevertheless  
completed, mid-day passed, and no enemy ap-  
peared. Soon however, as the historian who was present  
describes it, a dust was observed in the distance, like a white  
cloud; and, after some time, a darkness spreading over the  
plain. Presently the glittering of the polished armour was  
seen, and the spears and the ranks became discernible.  
Cyrus rode himself to view the king's disposition, and then,  
coming to the Grecian line, by his interpreter ordered Cle-  
archus to direct his march to the enemy's centre; "for  
there," he said, "the king has his station; and nothing  
more is wanting to complete our business than to defeat  
that part of their army."

Cyrus, little experienced in military command, seems to

have wanted able advisers. Probably the jealousy of the Asiatics would not readily admit the association of Clearchus in their councils; and it was necessary for Cyrus, as far as possible, to avoid disgusting any of his followers. His Greeks were now about ten thousand four hundred heavy-armed, and two thousand four hundred targeteers: his Asiatics nearly a hundred thousand, in large proportion cavalry; and he had twenty chariots armed with scythes. The king's forces, according to the concurrent reports of deserters, likely however to be exaggerated, were nine hundred thousand; and his scythed chariots were a hundred and fifty. The Greeks held the right of the prince's army, with their right flank covered by the Euphrates. Clearchus, of a temper not readily to obey any orders against his own opinion, was perhaps displeased not to have been consulted about the disposition for battle. He knew however that, though report might have amplified the king's numbers, they were certainly so superior to those of Cyrus as to outflank him by more than half his army. He Anab. I. 1. c. 8. s. 9. saw the safety of those under him, his own credit, and perhaps the best prospect of final success to the prince's cause, in keeping his flank still covered by the river. Resolved therefore not to part with so important an advantage, he avoided a direct refusal of obedience to the prince's command, by answering, in general terms, "that he would take care all should go well."<sup>4</sup>

Cyrus continued riding in front of the line, s. 10, 11. viewing every part; and as he again approached the Grecian phalanx, Xenophon rode toward him, and asked if he had any commands. "Only," said the prince, "let

<sup>4</sup> It is impossible to read Plutarch's criticism of the conduct of Clearchus (Plut. Artax. p. 1856.), without a smile at his presumptuous ignorance; or to observe his eulogy of Xenophon, and at the same time his inattention to him, without some wonder at his extreme carelessness.

the Greeks be informed that the sacrifices are all favourable." At that instant a murmur through the Grecian ranks drew his attention, and he asked what it meant. Xenophon answered, that the officers were communicating a new word, given out for the occasion. "What is it?" said Cyrus. "Protecting Jupiter and Victory," answered Xenophon. "I accept the omen," replied the prince, "be it so;" and immediately rode away toward the centre of his army.

It was well known to the king's officers that no Asiatic infantry could withstand the Grecian phalanx, and that no Asiatic cavalry would dare to charge it. The proposed resource, in this decided inferiority of the troops, was to use the armed chariots as an artillery; and they were indeed formidable weapons when their operations were duly guided.<sup>5</sup> The horses, to force their way through protended spears, bore defensive armour<sup>6</sup>: a parapet on the chariot protected the driver: scythes projecting, downward under the axle-tree, and obliquely from each end, were adapted to make havoc of whatever came in their course.

Tissaphernes, as, of the king's general officers, most acquainted with the Grecian military practice, was appointed to the command of the wing opposed to the Greeks. He

was already within half a mile of their line when  
Anab. l. 1.  
 c. 8. s. 12, 13. Cyrus left them. The Greeks, observing his

approach, sang the pæan, advanced, and, quickening pace by degrees, at length ran in phalanx. The effect of this spirited movement was beyond expectation. The charge of the chariots, which alone would have been formidable, was ob-

<sup>5</sup> So we learn from Xenophon's account of their effect on another occasion.  
 Hel. l. 4. c. 1. s. 9.

<sup>6</sup> In the passage referred to in the foregoing note we find mention of the defensive armour of the Persian scythed chariot-horses, which does not occur in the account of the battle of Cunaxa; in which nevertheless troop-horses are mentioned bearing defensive armour, so that it cannot be doubted but the chariot-horses would be at least equally protected.



viated by it. For, the Persian infantry flying, without even discharging an effectual arrow, and the cavalry giving no support, the charioteers mostly quitted their carriages, and the rest drove away. A few of those tremendous wheeled weapons, deserted by their drivers, were borne by the frightened horses against the Grecian line, but none with any effect. Some, the horses stopping amazed, were taken, and some, pushing on with that heedless fury which fright often inspires, passed through openings made for them by the ready discipline of the phalanx.<sup>7</sup> The greater part, turning after their own troops, enhanced the alarm and hastened the flight, not without havoc of the disorderly bands. The Greeks, surprised at their easy victory, with a steady pace pursued.

Tissaphernes, not of a temper to set the example, generally so necessary to produce bold exertion among Asiatic troops, and disappointed of the effect of his chariots, on which he had wholly depended for success against the Grecian phalanx, nevertheless formed hopes to gain, with little risk, the credit of some success against the Greeks, through his knowledge of the formation of their armies.

Anab. l. 1.  
c. 10. s. 5.

Avoiding the heavy-armed, with his cavalry he charged the targeteers. But these opening, (for they were highly disciplined, and commanded by an able officer, Episthenes of Amphipolis,) the horse went through, and suffered from javelins in passing, without returning a wound. The attempt was not repeated; and thus a great victory, in all appearance, was obtained by the Greeks, almost without a battle; for a very few bowshot wounds only had been received in the left of the phalanx<sup>8</sup>, and not a man was killed.

<sup>7</sup> This is the sense that Spelman, by a judicious and apparently well-founded correction, has given to the passage, which, in the printed copies of the Anabasis, is contradictory and absurd.

<sup>8</sup> Ἐπὶ τῷ εὐανύμῳ τοξισθῆναι τις ἐλέγετο. Spelman has translated this as if Xenophon had meant precisely to say that only one man was wounded. It ap-

The decision had been so rapid that the centre of the armies was not yet engaged. In some leisure therefore the success of the Greeks was observed by Cyrus and those

Anab. i. 1.  
c. 8. s. 15.

about him, and so large a portion of the royal forces was seen to join in the flight that warm

hopes were excited among all, and the ready flattery of some complimented the prince as already king. Cyrus however had a mind greater than to be so misled. Attentive to all points, he had now satisfied himself that the king was in the centre of his army, generally esteemed his regular post. This body extended beyond the extreme of the prince's left, and had in no degree partaken of the disorder of the wing

c. 7. s. 8.

under Tissaphernes. It had been the advice anxiously urged to Cyrus by the Grecian generals,

who knew that on his life all their hopes depended, not to risk his person in action. Whether through vain-glory, or false shame, or any just consideration of the importance of his example to Asiatic troops, he resolved not to shun danger, but rather to lead the way to daring exertion. He was however waiting steadily for opportunity, when that large part of the king's line which outflanked him wheeled to turn

c. 8. s. 17.

his flank. Cyrus then, with ready judgment, chose the moment of evolution to charge the guard of

six thousand, which preceded the king. He routed them, and, according to report, he killed their commander, Artager-  
gerses, with his own hand. The king's immediate

s. 18, 19.

guard, and the king himself, were thus laid open

to view. Stimulated by ambition and revenge at the sight, and flushed with success, he then forgot the duty of the general. While the greater part of his troops, heedless of

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appears to me that Diodorus, who, with much valuable information interspersed in his work, was altogether a miserable historian, but a good grammarian, has better given the true meaning of the phrase: *Τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων φασὶν ἀναιρεθῆναι μὲν οὐδένα, τρωθῆναι δὲ ὀλίγους*. 1. 14. s. 25.

order, pursued the fugitives, he with a small band made a furious charge, broke through to the king, rode at him with his javelin, and wounded him in the breast; but immediately received a wound in the face, and, being overpowered, was presently killed, with eight of his principal officers, who vainly exerted themselves in his defence. These circumstances, not within the means of Xenophon's personal knowledge, he has related on the authority of Ctesias, a Greek physician, then in the service of Artaxerxes, and employed to cure the wound received from Cyrus.

The prince's head and right hand, cut off and carried about, announced his fate to both armies. Anab. 1. 1.  
c. 10. s. 1.

The right wing and centre of the king's then advanced with alacrity. The left of the prince's, commanded by Ariæus, did not wait the assault. They fled, and all the Asiatic line followed the example; none stopping till they reached the preceding day's station. Their camp became the unresisting prey of the conqueror. A Milesian girl, of s. 2. the prince's train, running almost naked from his pavilion, reached the Grecian camp, and was among the first to communicate alarm there. A Phocæan, who had been much in his favour, and who was admired for the extent of her knowledge and the elegance of her manners, even more than for her person, which still in declining youth was beautiful, remained the king's prisoner.<sup>9</sup> The Milesian found protection from the bravery and skill in arms of the small number of her fellow-countrymen, left to guard their camp. It was presently attacked, and mostly plundered; for they were unequal to the defence of its extent; but at length they repulsed the pillagers with much slaughter.

<sup>9</sup> Their story may deserve this notice, not only as it assists to mark the manners of the times, but also as it marks the means occurring to the Greeks for knowing what they have related of the Persians, which some modern writers have over boldly, and with little examination, controverted.

Anab. 1. 1.  
c. 10. s. 3.

Intelligence was carried nearly at the same time, to the king, that the Greeks had routed and were pursuing his left wing, and to the Greeks, that the king's forces were plundering their camp. Success and pursuit

s. 4, 6, 7. were leading them away from each other. Both

turned; but the king, instead of meeting the Greeks, passed them. The Greeks then changed their front, so that the river might secure their rear. Upon this the king also changed his front, as if to meet them. The Greeks advanced, with confidence increased by the experience of the day, and they were not deceived; for, from a greater distance than the wing under Tissaphernes, the Persians

s. 8, 9. now fled their assault. The Greeks pursued.

On a hill overlooking a village not distant, a large body of the Persian cavalry checked its flight, and formed, as if resolved to maintain that advantageous ground. No Persian infantry then remained in sight; and while the Greeks halted to prepare for attacking the horse, these also fled and appeared no more.

s. 10. The sun was now setting, and the Greeks wondered that they had neither seen Cyrus, nor received orders from him; confident nevertheless that as, with

their small numbers unsupported, they remained so completely masters of the field, after so little effort, and with almost no loss, he could be employed only by the consequences of victory. After some consultation whether they should send for their tents and necessities, they resolved rather to return to their camp. Reaching it about dark, they found it so far plundered and wasted that, after having all passed the day without refreshment, most were obliged

l. 2. c. 1. s. 1. to go to rest fasting, but still with the satisfactory hope that victory had been on their side complete.

SECTION III.

*Return of the Greeks. — Treaty with the King. — March through Mesopotamia and Media. — Circumvention of the Generals.*

AT daybreak the generals met; still wondering that neither orders were come from Cyrus, nor intelligence. It was presently resolved to march in quest of him. By sunrise all was ready for moving, when the arrival of two officers, of high rank in the prince's Asiatic army, Glous, son of the Egyptian Tamos, admiral of the fleet, and Procles, descended from Demaratus, the banished king of Lacedæmon, who attended Xerxes into Greece, and whose family enjoyed hereditary emoluments and honours from the liberality of the Persian government, occasioned a pause. Now first the mortifying intelligence was communicated that Cyrus was no more. It was added that Ariæus had conducted the flying remains of the Asiatic army to the ground of the former encampment, where he would wait for the Greeks that day, but on the morrow would certainly proceed for Ionia.

Anab. 1. 2.  
c. 1. s. 2.

Anab. ibid. &  
Hel. 1. 3. c. 1.  
s. 4.

Depressing as this was to the hopes of those who had thought fortune, far above any ordinary Grecian scale, already their own, from the bounty of a generous prince, raised by their services to the possession of almost countless wealth and boundless empire, still, looking to their own success, and to all appearances around, the Greeks would not immediately give up all their lofty expectations; and they thought they saw a resource in the situation of Ariæus himself, who had before him, on one side the fear of an ignominious death for his rebellion, on the other the empire, which the superiority of the Grecian arms might give him. Menon, long connected by hospitality and familiar intercourse with Ariæus, offered himself for the

Anab. 1. 2.  
c. 1. s. 4.

negotiation ; and Glous and Procles did not refuse to concur in it. At the desire of Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian Chirisophus was joined in the commission, and all presently departed together.

Meanwhile the victorious Greeks were reduced to the necessity of killing their baggage-cattle for food, and breaking up the empty and now useless waggons for fire, for which however, with some satisfaction, they also collected Persian arrows, darts, and wooden shields, innumera- bly scattered

Anab. 1. 2.  
c. 1. s. 6.

over the field of battle. They were thus occupied when, about the middle of the forenoon, arrived some persons, of whom one was a Greek, demanding in the name of the king and of Tissaphernes to speak with the generals. The Greek was soon known to be Phalinus, who held a very honourable situation under the satrap, to which a reputation for military science had recommended him. Their message imported that the king required the Greeks to come and surrender their arms at his gate ; and that on no other condition would he show them favour or mercy. Highly as their easy victory had given them to rate the power of their arms, this message threw a sudden damp on their spirits. They began to consider their total want of necessaries in their present situation, the length of hostile continent, rivers, mountains, and deserts to be crossed to reach their own country, the uncertainty of assistance from Ariæus, and, wholly destitute as they were of cavalry, the extreme difficulty of collecting provisions in an enemy's country, and the danger of retreat, even from an enemy who might not dare to face them. Such circumstances force away the veil with which, in ordinary situations, men are enabled, as prudent advisers, to cover their sentiments. But the Arcadian Cleanor, eldest of the generals, could not repress his indignation. He sternly replied, they would die before they would surrender their arms. Some, on the

contrary, showed signs of despondency; others cast about for new project. It was recollected that Egypt, in revolt, had been long resisting the Persian arms, and that some of the other distant provinces were rebellious: it was supposed the king might be glad of their service, and the greater part were inclined to offer it. The discussion was long. In the end, the necessity of decision and the impossibility of bringing opinions to agree, seem to have produced a general deference to the authority of Clearchus. Politic as bold, he answered in the name of all, thus laconically: "We want our arms: if the king desires our friendship, for his service; if he means enmity, for our own safety." Phalinus promised to report this answer faithfully, and then said he was farther directed to inform them, that while they remained in their present station the king would consider a truce as existing with them; any movement he should esteem a measure of hostility. Clearchus took upon himself immediately to reply for all: "Be it so." "How then," said Phalinus, "truce or war?" "Truce," said Clearchus, "if we stay, and war if we move;" nor would he give a more decisive answer.

Soon after the departure of the king's deputies, Procles and Chirisophus returned, leaving Menon with Ariæus. They reported that Ariæus declined the offer of assistance for pretending to the Persian throne, alleging that his inferiority of birth to many among the Persians too effectually excluded him: but that he was desirous to have the Greeks accompany his march back to Ionia, and he would therefore wait for them in his present camp the ensuing night, but would unfailingly proceed next morning. Sunset already approaching, quick decision was necessary. Some, vainly confident in their experience of superiority in the field, were now for pushing hostilities against the king. Clearchus, quick to repress

Anab. 1. 2.  
c. 1. s. 14, 15.

c. 2. s. 1.

s. 2.

equally rash or desponding counsel, evinced the folly of the proposal by telling them, "that the king, as he knew by certain intelligence, had passed the Tigris, and they were totally without means to follow him. Want of provisions then denied their stay in their present station; and, in fact, choice of measures was out of question: nothing remained but to march back to Ionia; which, though hazardous and difficult, was not impossible. Besides, the sacrifices augured well to their return, and ill to every other measure." This was a decisive argument. All yielded to it, and Clearchus took upon himself to issue orders for marching that evening.

Anab. 1. 2.  
c. 2. s. 3.

Neither commission nor election had given him authority over the other generals; but, in this hazardous crisis, all acquiesced under the evident superiority of his talents and experience.

The Greeks were now, according to Xenophon's account, by the line of march, reputed the shortest and best, which they had pursued to Mesopotamia, near two thousand miles from Ephesus in Ionia, whither they wished to return, as the Grecian city, if not absolutely the nearest, yet the nearest that would afford them ready means to proceed all to their several homes, and perhaps the nearest that could be reached without even greater difficulties of way. This march had employed them ninety-three days, exclusively of halting days.<sup>10</sup> The order for moving decided that they

<sup>10</sup> The learned author of the Geographical Dissertation annexed to Spelman's translation of the Anabasis has supposed some exaggeration in Xenophon's account of the distance; not without appearance of reason, if the ordinary calculation of the Persian parasang is applicable universally. I cannot however admit the learned author to have been equally a good judge with Xenophon of the space that an army, like that of Cyrus, was capable of marching in a day, in the countries which he traversed. I should rather suppose the parasang of the Anabasis generally a computed measure, and often decided, as now in many parts of Europe, rather by the time ordinarily employed in travelling than by any calculation of space. That Xenophon did not pretend to nice accuracy indeed, appears from his omission every where to notice fractions of so large a measure as that, which the Greeks, as we write their word, called *parasanga*, the *farsang* of the modern East.



were at war with the king. If then deserters could hope for any kind reception, the considerations urging to desert might be powerful. Accordingly three hundred foot, with forty horse, all Thracians, commanded by a Thracian named Miltocythes, and originally engaged in the service under Clearchus, deserted as soon as it was dark.

Anab. i. 2.  
c. 2. s. 4.

The rest of the army joined Ariæus about midnight. Immediately the principal officers went to the Persian general's tent, where the principal Persian officers were also assembled. Circumstances did not admit long consultation. The Greeks must necessarily submit themselves to the guidance of the Persians. The important object was to establish mutual confidence and good faith. For this purpose recourse was had to oaths, rendered more solemn and impressive by sacrifice. A boar, a bull, a wolf, and a ram were the victims, in whose mingled blood the Grecian officers dipped their swords, the Persians their javelins, as they severally swore mutual fidelity and friendship. This ceremony being over, Ariæus observed that, to return the way they came, seventeen days' march through the desert, unprovided as they were, was impossible. He proposed therefore a more circuitous road, but through a plentiful country, and to begin with forced marches. Thus, he said, danger from the immensity of the king's numbers would be obviated: for with a great force he could not overtake them, with a small one he would not dare to attack them. The want of food then being among the most pressing considerations, he promised a plentiful supply at some villages which, if they moved at daybreak, they might reach by sunset.

s. 5.

The Greeks assenting, the combined armies marched at daybreak. In the afternoon circumstances were observed, very unexpectedly indicating that the king's forces were

near. Ariæus was alarmed. Clearchus, always more confident in his ability to resist or deter than to outmarch the king's troops, had nevertheless thought it prudent to avoid expressing any dissent from the measures proposed by Ariæus; yet, aware of the importance of supporting the opinion, universally spread, of the great superiority of the Grecian arms, he resolved carefully to avoid showing the least appearance of a desire to avoid action, and therefore continued his march directly to the villages. The king's officers, it appeared, had judged better than to propose resistance to him there. The villages, deserted by their inhabitants, had been stripped of every thing portable; so that the Greeks, after having passed the day fasting, were still without food.

Anab. 1. 2.  
c. 2. s. 8.

Men worn with fatigue, want, and disappointment are prepared for alarm; and in the night a panic, and tumult, its consequence, pervaded the Grecian camp. Clearchus, after hasty inquiry into the circumstances, sent for his herald. A loud voice for proclaiming orders was valued in Xenophon's days, it appears, equally as in Homer's; and by that quality, Tolmides, an Elean, acquired fame under Clearchus, in the office in which Stentor became renowned under Agamemnon. The commanding voice of Tolmides having enforced silent attention, he proclaimed, in the name of the generals, that any person discovering who turned the ass among the arms<sup>11</sup> should be rewarded with a talent of

<sup>11</sup> A technical phrase, used by Xenophon here, induced me to look to the translators and commentators for confirmation or correction of the sense I attributed to it. Spelman disapproves, and I think justly, the translations of Leunclavius and Hutchinson; but I cannot accede to his interpretation; and even the other passages of Xenophon, which he quotes in confirmation (Anab. 1. 2. c. 4. s. 8. & 1. 3. c. 1. s. 3.), are to me additional and powerful proof that he is wrong. To corroborate my opinion I would farther refer to a third passage, 1. 3. c. 1. s. 22. What may, I think, clearly be gathered from all the passages put together, is, that there was a place in the Grecian camp, allotted for the collected arms; and, in front of it, a space analogous to the modern parade. The large shields and long spears of the Greeks would occupy much

silver, above two hundred pounds sterling. Nothing could either more readily, or more completely, convince the multitude that their alarm was vain, and their generals watchful. Accordingly by this expedient, in its simplicity even ridiculous, yet well deserving notice for its singular fitness to produce the effect in the moment so important, the tumult was presently calmed, and the night passed in quiet.

At daybreak Clearchus called to arms, and the judiciousness of his bold measure, pushing on his march towards the king's forces, became soon evident. No vestige of an enemy was to be seen, and the sun was scarcely risen, when persons came, in the king's name, not, as on the preceding day, demanding the surrender of arms, but proposing negotiation on equal terms. Clearchus was in the moment viewing his parade. Versed in the Asiatic temper, he commanded that the Persians should wait his leisure; and, not till he had arranged his army so as to give it the most imposing appearance, admitted them to speak to him in front of his line. They said they came empowered to communicate between the king and the Grecian generals. "Go then," said Clearchus, "and tell the king, that we must fight before we treat; for we are without food; and among the Greeks it is held that to propose negotiation is mere insult from those who deny them food."

Where the king was, the Greeks knew not, and they had no cavalry for exploring. The quick return however of the deputies, with an answer to the rough message, proved that he, or some great officer authorised to treat in his name, was not distant. They said that the king

Anab. 1. 2.  
c. 2. s. 2. c. 3.  
s. 1, 2, 3.

s. 4.

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more room than our firelocks, and an ass driven among them in the night, whether sentries or a guard were or were not set over them, might likely enough give origin to tumult and alarm. Merely turning the animal "into the quarter of the heavy-armed men" (as Spelman has, with at least unnecessary boldness, rendered the phrase *εἰς τὰ ὄπλα*) would not be in itself so likely to produce disturbance.

allowed the remonstrance of Clearchus to be just ; by which apparently was meant, that it was consonant to the laws of hospitality, acknowledged among civilised nations, and which made indeed the best part of the ancient law of nations. A truce was then solemnly concluded, and guides were appointed to conduct the Grecian army where it might be

Anab. 1. 2.  
c. 3. s. 6.

supplied. The country traversed was so divided by deep canals that the army hardly could have forced its way. Some of these were passed on permanent bridges ; some on palm-trees cut for the occasion. It was

s. 8.

indeed suspected to have been the purpose of the Persians to give every possible appearance of difficulty to the march. At length however the army reached

s. 9.

a village where its wants were supplied largely. Corn, dates, a wine drawn from the palm-tree, and a vinegar prepared from that wine, afforded most advantageous refreshment to those who, in that sultry climate, during three days, had, some fasted, and the rest eaten only the flesh of animals worn with the service of the baggage.

s. 10.

While the army halted here three days, every thing, says Xenophon, seemed to promise peace and good faith. Nevertheless what he proceeds to report seems as if it might have warranted suspicion. Tissaphernes, with the brother of the reigning queen, and three other Persians of high rank, attended by a large train, came to confer with the generals. Communicating by interpreters,

s. 11.

Tissaphernes said, “ he was to demand, in the king’s name, why the Greeks made war against him.” He professed, for himself, a regard for their nation, as a neighbour, accustomed to intercourse with them ; and he recommended a conciliatory, by which he seems to have meant a submissive, answer ; that might enable him to do them the good offices he wished, in the extreme difficulties in which he saw them involved.

The Grecian generals withdrew awhile for consultation, and then Clearchus reported the answer agreed upon. "In entering into the service of Cyrus," he said, "they had no thought of war against the king; but, on the contrary, supposed themselves serving him in serving the prince. Various policy had been used to allure them on into Assyria; and, when once engaged so far, choice was no longer in their power: not only gratitude for favours received, but the necessity of their situation bound them to the prince. Yet, whatever doubt might be entertained concerning their past views, it was evident they could now have no view to anything so desirable for them as to return peacefully home; prepared however always to revenge injuries, and always desirous, to the best of their power, to requite kindnesses."

Anab. 1. 2.  
c. 3. s. 12.

The Persians departed to make their report; and on the third day Tissaphernes returned. If umbrage was taken at the unbending manner of Clearchus, it was not avowed. On the contrary, generosity and benignity, on the part of the Persian king, seemed marked in the treaty, quickly concluded. It was agreed, "that the Greeks should be faithfully conducted home; that a market should be provided for them on the march; that, in failure of the market, they might take their own measures for supplying their reasonable wants; but, as in a friendly country, with the least possible injury to the inhabitants." Oaths were solemnly taken, and right hands mutually given, by Tissaphernes and the queen's brother, on the king's part, and by the generals and lochages, on the part of the Grecian army, in confirmation of this agreement. Tissaphernes then, in taking leave, informed the Greeks, that the king had conferred upon him the great command lately held by Cyrus. His journey would, on this account, he said, require the more preparation; but, with the

Ibid.  
Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 1. s. 2.  
Anab. 1. 2.  
c. 5. s. 2.

least possible delay, he would rejoin them, and be himself the conductor of their march.

Though the faithlessness of Tissaphernes had been abundantly proved, yet the Greeks had confidence in his interest to cultivate their friendship, and they had also confidence in the honour of the Persian king. They moreover flattered themselves that, disappointed as their hopes of high fortune were, yet the dark prospect, which immediately succeeded, was entirely done away; that all the dangers of their expedition were ended; and that a secure return to their country and families, at least, would be their solace for past labours, perils, and apprehensions. It does not appear that, in the negotiation with the king, any notice was taken of Ariæus, though he held his ground of encampment near that of the Greeks. But in the mean time he negotiated for himself; and so successfully as to obtain his own complete pardon and that of his followers. Xenophon has not informed us that any faith, plighted or implied, was broken, either by him or by the Greeks; but there seems to have been, on their part, at least a deficiency of attention to him. Of course he neglected them; inso-much that public report first brought information, uncertain information, that his pardon was obtained. What we gain from the direct testimony of Xenophon is, that a coolness before unexperienced, from the Asiatic army toward the Grecian, followed the first rumours of that pardon; and that hence arose suspicion and much uneasiness among the Greeks, while, more than twenty days, they waited for Tissaphernes; insomuch that they urged their generals to stay no longer. Clearchus, himself unsatisfied, but provident of the distress they must incur, friendless, without guides, and deprived of the assistance of the cavalry under Ariæus, with difficulty persuaded them to acquiesce.

Anab. 1. 2.  
c. 4. s. 1, 2, 3.

This brooding uneasiness was at length checked by the arrival of Tissaphernes, with Orontas, satrap of Armenia, who had lately married the king's daughter, each commanding a numerous army.<sup>12</sup> All then again resumed the appearance of friendship and good faith on the part of the principal Persian officers. The united armies immediately moved for Lower Asia: the Grecian market was regularly and plentifully supplied, and nothing occurred on which to found complaint. Suspicion nevertheless held among the Greeks, and the appearance of it among the Asiatics. The Greeks had their peculiar guides allotted for their march: they usually encamped three or four miles from the Asiatics; and all communication between the two nations was managed with the precautions usually taken between avowed enemies. Meanwhile it was observed that the forces under Ariæus encamped without any separation from those under the king's officers, or any precaution against them. No doubt was then any longer entertained that the report of his pardon was well founded, for it had not hitherto been confirmed, and hence the suspicion of the Greeks increased.

Anab. l. 2.  
c. 4. s. 4.

In three days the armies reached the Median wall, a prodigious fortified line, intended, like those of the Romans against the Picts, in our own island, or the far more stupendous work of the Chinese against the Tartars, to defend a whole country. It was built of brick, twenty feet in thickness, a hundred in height, and said to extend seventy miles. Animosity had now grown to such a height between the Greeks and Asiatics that the foraging parties had more than once come to blows.

s. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Xenophon not informing, we can only guess that Orontas may have been son of the person, of the same name, executed in Syria for treachery to Cyrus; and that the satrapy of Armenia, and the king's daughter, may have been the recompence for the sufferings of the family.

Anab. 1. 2.  
c. 4. s. 7.

In two days more, after crossing two vast canals, the armies arrived at Sitace, a large town within two miles of the Tigris. Clearchus, uneasy at the growing dissensions, had nevertheless considered them hitherto as the mere effusions of national animosity, and the indiscretion of individuals in inferior stations. Here first the measures of the Persian generals gave him some alarm. It was afterwards discovered to have been their concerted purpose to excite alarm, but from a motive not of enmity, but merely of jealousy. Sitace was situated in an island singularly fruitful, highly cultivated, and so defended by the surrounding waters of the river and canals that, as the numerous population consisted, in very large proportion, of unarmed slaves, if the Greeks, aware of its advantages, had chosen to establish themselves there, it was supposed they might have maintained the possession against

s. 12, 13.

the whole force of the empire. The Greeks however, having no such view, quietly crossed the Tigris next morning, under the guidance of their appointed conductors, on a bridge supported by thirty-seven boats. The apprehensions of the Persians being thus relieved, the suspicious conduct, to which they had given occasion, ceased.

s. 15.

Nothing remarkable occurred then during a march of four days, in which the boundary of Mesopotamia was crossed, and the armies, entering Media, soon reached Opis, a large town, where a numerous army, collected for the war with Cyrus, was waiting under the command of a bastard brother of the king. Beyond Opis they presently entered a desert, through which the march was prosecuted six days without any cultivated land in sight. They arrived then at some villages belonging to Parysatis, the queen-mother, who, as the friend of Cyrus, seems to have been considered as the enemy of the king.



Tissaphernes gratified the Greeks with permission to plunder her villages ; expressly however reserving the slaves, perhaps the most valuable part of the moveable property, and possibly, excepting a few officers of the queen's, the only description of inhabitants. A march then followed, Anab. 1. 2. c. 4. s. 16. of five days more, through a desert, with the Tigris always near on the left ; after which, the armies reaching a more plentiful country, watered by the Zabatas, a halt of three days was allowed for refreshment.

In this leisure, the mutual ill-will of the Greeks and Persians, more than ever showing itself, gave much uneasiness to Clearchus ; who nevertheless, with c. 5. s. 1, 2. the most attentive observation, could discover neither anything indicating that the Persian generals had any design against the Greeks, nor any probable cause for those pointed marks of jealousy among the Persians, without excepting the generals, which had principally occasioned the growing animosity of the Greeks against them. He was the more uneasy, because he was not without suspicion of treacherous conduct among some within his own army. Menon, intriguing, faithless, and ambitious in the highest degree, it was well known, ill brooked the superiority which the other generals readily allowed to the talents, experience, and years of Clearchus, and to the dignity of the Lacedæmonian name. Some practices for withdrawing the affection and respect of the army from Clearchus were notorious. Under these circumstances, the intimacy of Menon with Ariæus excited jealousy ; which was enhanced by the knowledge that he had been introduced by Ariæus to Tissaphernes ; what passed at the meeting remaining unknown.

Pressed by all these considerations, Clearchus resolved to desire a conference with Tissaphernes. The request was

Anab. 1. 2.  
c. 5. s. 4.

immediately granted. Clearchus was received with the utmost apparent cordiality. The satrap made the most specious profession of a desire, from political motives, to cultivate an interest with the Greeks. Clearchus gave him credit, and was altogether so satisfied with the explanation received, that his only remaining anxiety was to be assured of the secret enemy who had excited the late misunderstanding. Tissaphernes promised that, if all the Grecian generals and lochages would come together to witness what passed, he would declare the calumniator. Clearchus assented: Tissaphernes asked him to supper. The circumstance of eating together was held, equally among the Greeks and Persians of old, as by the Arabs of modern times, to bind friendship by a sacred tie; and the evening passed with every appearance of mutual satisfaction.

Next morning Clearchus assembled the principal Grecian officers, and related his communication with the satrap.

s. 6.

Objections were strongly stated to his proposal for risking all the generals and lochages together in the barbarian camp on the faith of a man of such experienced perfidy as Tissaphernes. Clearchus however so vehemently urged it, expressing such confidence, not in the

c. 4. s. 5.

satrap's character, but in the interest of the Persian court to cultivate the friendship of the Greeks, and such suspicion of those who should fear to undergo that test of their fidelity to the common cause of the Grecian army, that at length he prevailed. Four of the

c. 5. s. 7.

generals, Menon, Proxenus, Agias, and Socrates, went with him, and twenty lochages, whom we may reckon of the rank of colonels, or, at least, of field officers. About two hundred inferior officers and soldiers, incited by curiosity, followed under pretence of marketing. On their arrival at Tissaphernes's tent the generals were immediately admitted; the others waited without. A signal

was observed, on which the generals were seized, those without the tent, who had followed them, were massacred, and a body of horse, issuing from the camp, extended the slaughter to all belonging to the Grecian army, free and slave, that could be found about the plain.

What passed in the Persian camp was unknown in the Grecian, when the violence of the horse, clearly seen, excited alarm and astonishment. An Arcadian, of those who had followed the generals, escaping severely wounded, first gave intelligence of what had passed about the tent of Tissaphernes. All then ran to arms, expecting immediate assault upon the camp. Fortunately that was too bold a measure for those who directed the Persian operations. A brother of Tissaphernes, with Ariæus, Artaozus, and Mithridates, who had been of the most confidential friends of Cyrus, escorted by only about three hundred horse, approached, and communicated a requisition for the remaining generals and lochages to come out and receive a message from the king. The Lacedæmonian Chirisophus was accidentally absent with a foraging party. The Arcadians, Cleanor of Orchomenus, and Sophænetus of Stymphalus, alone of the generals remained within the camp. They obeyed the requisition so far as to go out; and Xenophon, anxious for news of his friend Proxenus, accompanied them; but they advanced cautiously, and stopped as soon as within hearing. Ariæus, then addressing them, said, that "Clearchus, having been convicted of violating the treaty, to which he had sworn, had been justly punished with death: that Proxenus and Menon, who had informed against him, were treated with honour: but that the king required of the Greeks to surrender their arms, which were truly his, since they had belonged to Cyrus, his subject."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου. Spelman, translating this *his subject*, has nevertheless said in a note, "literally, his slave." Verbal criticism is not generally the

Cleanor, an honest old soldier, and no politician, without at all considering what the pressing interests of the moment required, uselessly vented his just indignation. "Deceit," he said, "perjury, every crime and every baseness from Tissaphernes might have been expected, but from the friends of Cyrus not." Ariæus, in reply, insisted upon the discovered treachery of Clearchus. Xenophon, without command, and without a character in the army but that of the friend of Proxenus, seeing apparently that no person in authority was capable of managing the conference to any advantage, ventured, in such pressing circumstances, to speak. "Proxenus and Menon," he said, "it was observed by Ariæus, had deserved highly of the Persians. Those generals therefore should be immediately sent back to the Grecian camp, and their advice would decide what the Greeks should do." The Persians appeared at a loss for reply to this proposition: they consulted long among themselves, and then, without giving any answer, withdrew to their own camp.

It seems to have been long unknown to the Greeks what was the fate of their generals; nor has Xenophon said how the account was at length obtained, which he has given as certain. But we have such assurance of persons of their nation being employed, in various ways, about the Persian court, and in the service of the satraps, that the easy possibility of just intelligence reaching them is obvious. According to Xenophon's report, the generals were all conducted alive into the king's presence, and, except Menon, all soon after beheaded; which among the Greeks

Anab. l. 2.  
c. 6. s. 1.

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historian's business, but where an important political distinction is in question, it may come essentially within his duty. The Greek word appropriated to signify strictly a slave, was ἀνδράποδον. Δούλος was of a more extensive signification, and we have no term exactly corresponding. It meant either a subject, or a servant; and as a slave is both a subject and a servant, slaves were included within its more extended meaning.

and Persians, as with us, was esteemed the most honourable mode of execution. Menon was kept in wretched confinement a full year, and then executed as an ordinary malefactor.

Anab. 1. 2.  
c. 6. s. 16.

This account of the conduct of the Persian government, resting on the authority of only one Grecian historian, may perhaps, to some, appear not to deserve full credit. But Xenophon is in himself no mean authority. Had his friend Proxenus survived, we might indeed have suspected him of some partiality. Had Clearchus survived, whom evidently he respected highly, we might have suspected him of some partiality. But, in fact, the more he could fix blame upon those who were gone, the more credit would attach to the principal survivors, and particularly to himself. In the progress of the narrative he strongly evinces his impartiality; and we find throughout such a consonancy to well-attested facts, and well-attested characters, national and individual, that, though possibly an honest Persian writer might have given a different colour to some circumstances, the whole seems to have every claim to credit that such a narrative can in itself possess.

If then we seek the motives for conduct so nefarious and so base in the Persian government, we may perhaps find them in the principles of oriental policy, still in vigour in the same countries; or we may find them in the words attributed by Xenophon to the Greek soldiers, in their first uneasiness under the delay of their return, while they waited for Tissaphernes, after the conclusion of the treaty with them in the king's name: "It is reasonable," they said, "to suppose, that our destruction must be beyond all things the king's wish; as a circumstance more than all others likely to deter the Greeks from future engagements, like ours, in conspiracy against his throne. It is indeed impossible he can be pleased that we should go to relate in

c. 4. s. 2.

Greece how our small force overcame his immense armies, at his very gates, and returned in scorn of his power." It would however be likely to occur, in the Persian councils, that to attack the Greeks and Ariæus united must be hazardous; but to divide them would probably not be difficult. If Ariæus was to be punished, the Greeks must be gained; but if Ariæus might be pardoned, the Greeks might be destroyed. Possibly the interest that Ariæus possessed, or by intrigue found means to acquire, among men in power and confidence, more than any true policy, at length decided the resolution. But, from the moment that Ariæus obtained his pardon, the purpose of the Persian court seems to have been to lead the Greeks where the hazardous attempt to destroy them might be made with the least risk, especially to the capital and its immediate neighbourhood.

#### SECTION IV.

*Return of the Greeks. — Election of new Generals. — Grecian Military Law. — Passage of Mount Taurus. — March through Armenia. — Arrival at Trapezus.*

In the Grecian army, collected from almost all the numerous little republics of the nation, the system of subordination was very incomplete. Every general held the independent command of the troops himself had raised; and no order of succession was established: but vacancies, through all the ranks, were to be supplied by election. Eight officers had borne the title of general; but only Clearchus had possessed the qualifications. In him alone was united extensive experience with great talents. Diligent in the care of an army, in quarters or in camp, and ready in every emergency of the field, he was truly a superior man: Xenophon has not scrupled to declare the others unequal to their situation.

Anab. i. 2.  
c. 6. s. 1—8.

c. 2. s. 3.

Called then by no positive duty, warranted by no acknowledged superiority, and diffident of themselves, the generals remaining in the camp took no lead, while dejection and dismay pervaded the army. On that evening, says the eye-witness historian, few attended the parade<sup>14</sup>, few fires were lighted, many touched no food, many would not even go to their tents, but threw themselves on the ground where they happened to be, to pass a sleepless night, ruminating on their disconsolate circumstances. Xenophon at this time had no rank in the army: he was, according to his own phrase, neither officer nor soldier. Having gone, at the invitation of Proxenus, from Athens to Sardis, on his arrival he found the army on the point of marching eastward. He was immediately introduced to Cyrus, who, with condescending civility, joined his Theban friend in pressing him to accompany them in the expedition, then pretended against the Pisidians. When, at length, in Cilicia, the real object was no longer doubted, Xenophon was one of the many, as himself confesses, who wished, but were ashamed, to withdraw themselves; and he proceeded with the army, merely as a volunteer, the friend of Proxenus. The duty of a soldier was however not new to him; as, in the latter years of the Peloponnesian war, he was of age for that service, from which no Athenian was exempted. If he had never held command, he had however been diligent in study to prepare himself for it, and he had made large use of great opportunities for observation.

Anab. 1. 3.  
c. 1. s. 3.

s. 4.

<sup>14</sup> Ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα πολλοὶ οὐκ ἦλθον. This is evidently a military technical phrase. It indicates that in the ordinary practice of the Grecian service the soldiers were assembled ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα at least once a day. What the precise meaning of the phrase ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα was, we cannot know. It may have been a simple roll-call at the place where the arms were deposited: it may have been an inspection of arms: but it seems evidently to have been something like the modern parade. The reader disposed to critical inquiry on the subject may compare the passage with those quoted in note 11. of the preceding section. He may also consult Spelman; whose version of the passage however, and notes upon it, I must own I cannot approve.

Under these circumstances, Xenophon partook largely in the grief and anxiety excited in the army by the circumvention of the generals, and by the manifestation of determined hostility, hostility knowing neither measure nor mercy, on

Anab. 1. 3.  
c. 1. s. 9, 10.

the part of the Persians. Without duty himself, his attention was alive to observe what steps would be taken by the remaining generals; and with deep concern he saw that, instead of exertion increased, in proportion to the pressure of the occasion, their remissness amounted almost to a dereliction of command. Attack was universally expected with daylight; and yet no council held, no orders given, preparation of no kind made. From the common interests of the army his consideration then turned to that part of it with which he had been more particularly connected, and which, by the loss of his friend, remained without a head. Though holding no rank, he was, by no rule of Grecian service, excluded from aspiring to any rank. Circumstances not invited only, but pressed him to come forward: his youth alone deterred him. After much consideration and re-consideration, strongly impressed with the importance of decision, and still doubting, a dream at length, he has said, determined him. His works indeed abound with testimonies to his respect for the foreboding of dreams, and

for the whole of the reputed science of augury.  
s. 11—22.

Roused then, according to his own report, by a dream, early in the night he sprang from his bed, and, in pursuance of the supposed admonition from a divine power, called together the lochages of the troops which had served under Proxenus. On their assembling he observed to them what remissness pervaded the army, without excepting the remaining generals; what imminent and extreme danger threatened; and how urgent the necessity for immediately choosing a successor to their own lost commander. For himself, he said, hitherto without a character in the army,



in the present emergency he was ready to do his best in any situation, whether in command or in obedience, in which they might think he would be most useful: but with regard to the prospect before them, it depended upon themselves to make it good or bad; and, however just the melancholy, in the moment pervading the army, he was confident that vigour and prudence united might bear them through all opposing difficulties. He then stated the grounds of his confidence, and, at the conclusion of his speech, the general wish was expressed, that Xenophon would take the command. One lochage only avowed his dissent; adding his opinion, that they ought at once to throw themselves on the king's mercy, as the only resource affording a reasonable hope. "The king's mercy!" replied Xenophon indignantly; "you may judge of it from the transactions of yesterday. Your own power to defend yourselves has never yet failed you. The man who can make so base a proposal, instead of holding command, should not be allowed even to bear arms: he is fit only to carry the baggage; he is a disgrace to the Grecian name." "He is no Greek," replied immediately an Arcadian lochage, Agasias of Stymphalus; "though his speech is Bœotian, I have seen his ears bored like a Lydian's." The spirit of the meeting was roused; the lochage's ears were examined; they were found to be as Agasias said, and he was immediately deprived of his rank.

Beside what is more directly indicated, this remarkable transaction seems to offer, for the attentive observer, some curious information. How a Lacedæmonian army, or how an army of Athenian citizens was composed, is little marked by it; but birth, connections, and education appear to have given great advantages in an army composed like that under Cyrus. Among the officers who served under Proxenus evidently none had those advantages in a degree to enable them to aspire to the chief command. Neither Xenophon

nor any early writer has said it, and yet it seems clearly to result from Xenophon's account, that his rank, derived from birth and connections, at least approached that of his Theban friend. That the superiority of his talents and education alone would have procured him that instantaneous elevation, by the common voice of the officers, from a situation of no command, to the command of them all, appears unlikely. But where birth and connections are evidently superior, the superiority of talents and education is less invidious. Deference, which would not be readily paid to either an accidental, or a natural, or an artificial superiority alone, will be more willingly conceded to the three united.

The appointment however of a head facilitated the means of united exertion to the officers of that division of the army ; and this was an important step toward the restoration of order and energy through the whole. An immediate meeting of all the generals and lochages was desired, and, toward midnight, they assembled, in number about a hundred. Hieronymus of Elis, eldest lochage of the troops which had served under Proxenus, introduced Xenophon, as general elect of those troops ; and, as the meeting had originated from them, it was Xenophon's part to open the business. He began, after some apology, with observing that, in the situation in which they stood, leaving the soldiers, without occupation, to ruminate upon what was alarming and disconsolate in their circumstances, could not but be in the highest degree dangerous : the animation necessary to carry them through the difficulties before them could be supported only by active employment. But the election of successors to the lost generals, he proceeded to say, should engage their first attention : till that was done, nothing could go forward with due regularity. He declared then his opinion, that confidence should be wholly refused to the Persians ; and he concluded with explaining, in the same strain of en-

Anab. 1. 3.  
c. 1. s. 23.

couraging eloquence, as before to the officers of Proxenus, his ground for hoping that vigorous exertion, united with prudent caution, would carry them happily and gloriously through the dangers at present so threatening. When he ended, the Lacedæmonian Chirisophus rising said, "He had before known no more of Xenophon than just that he was an Athenian; but he nevertheless entirely approved all the sentiments he had declared, and the propositions he had offered." This was decisive for the meeting, and they proceeded immediately to the election of generals. What interest or what views guided the choice does not appear. Timasion of Dardanum, in Troas, was substituted for Clearchus; Philesius and Xanthicles, Achæans, for Menon and Socrates; the body before under Agias was committed to the orders of Cleanor; and Xenophon was confirmed in the succession to Proxenus.

Anab. l. 3.  
c. 1. s. 32.

At daybreak the troops were assembled, and Chirisophus, Cleanor, and Xenophon successively addressed them. An accident, in itself even ridiculous, assisted not a little, through the importance attributed to it by Grecian superstition, to infuse encouragement. Xenophon was speaking of that favour from the gods which a righteous cause entitled them to hope for against a perjured enemy, when somebody sneezed. Immediately the general voice addressed ejaculations to protecting Jupiter, whose omen it was supposed to be.<sup>15</sup> A sacrifice to the god was then proposed; a universal shout declared approbation; and the whole army, in one chorus, sang the pæan.

c. 2. s. 1—5.

<sup>15</sup> We should scarcely have looked to Greece for the origin of the popular practice in England, of exclaiming "God bless you!" when a person sneezes. Popular customs indeed, often very ancient, often very widely diffused, often similar and yet of different origin, can seldom, with any certainty, be traced to their origin. Were it worth while, however, it might perhaps be not difficult to show a probability that the custom of ejaculating a blessing on persons sneezing came to England from Greece.

Thus was a turn fortunately given, through the army, from dismay and despondency to hope and cheerfulness. Among the arguments which the generals then gladly seized to improve the happy impression, one, which the circumstances offered, spoke home to the minds of soldiers, commonly little provident of distant good or evil, but intent upon present wants and near enjoyments. The means of

Anab. 1. 3.  
c. 1. s. 13. &  
c. 2. s. 12.

many to profit from that market which, according to treaty, had been hitherto provided, were nearly exhausted; and all these heard with joy, that their swords might supply the deficiency of their purses; that, in the rich country they were to traverse, they might thenceforward take, as from enemies, whatever they could master. Nevertheless, it being highly expedient, as much as possible, to lighten the march, at the instance of Xenophon they cheer-

s. 17—20.

fully submitted to burn their waggons and tents.

They heard the same young general with careful attention while he observed that the enemy had just given them a lesson of the utmost importance, in showing that he dared not openly attack them till he had deprived them of their generals. Thus he had manifested his conviction of the inestimable value of the Grecian discipline; and hence it followed, that it behoved the army to be more strictly obedient, as it certainly was the duty of the generals to be more watchfully careful, than at any former time. It was then unanimously voted, that any disobedience to lawful commands should be instantly punished, and that it should be the bounden duty of all present to support the commanding officer upon the spot in the infliction of punishment. This vote, and the want of such a vote, concur with all other remaining testimony to mark the deficiency of the Greek military penal law; which appears to have been, at the same time, very lax and very arbitrary.

To appoint a commander-in-chief seems to have been not

in view. Xenophon evidently felt the ascendancy which eloquence, not least among his superior talents, gave him in the council of officers, or in the council of the army at large. As youngest among the generals, and still more perhaps, as an Athenian, he could not aspire to the ostensible command-in-chief; but by the lead which was conceded to his abilities in council he could in a great degree hold the effectual command. Others, conscious of deficiency, avoiding to urge advice, he recommended, That the order of march should be a hollow square, with the baggage, now reduced to a small compass, in the centre; that the leading division should be committed to Chirisophus, in virtue of his dignity as a Lacedæmonian; that Timasion with himself, the two youngest generals, should command the rear, and the older generals the flanks. This was approved and ratified.

Order and energy being thus restored to the army, the waggons and tents, with whatever baggage could by any means be spared, were burnt, conformably to the resolution taken. All was then arranged for the march, and the army was on the point of moving, when Mithridates, approaching with an escort of only thirty horse, desired to speak with the generals. His discourse began with expressions of apprehension for himself, on account of his known attachment to Cyrus, and of friendship for the Greeks, undiminished by events; but the tenor of it soon showed that his purpose was to discover how far the Grecian generals were firm in any intention of opposition to the king, and to persuade them, if possible, quietly to surrender themselves. Suspicion being thus excited, and his attendants being carefully observed, there was seen among them a known confidant of Tissaphernes, upon which the conference was abruptly ended.

Time however had been thus so wasted that it was mid-day before the Grecian army moved;

Anab. 1. 3.  
c. 3. s. 1.

s. 5—8.

and Mithridates appeared again soon after, at the head of about two hundred horse, with four hundred foot, slingers or bowmen. He approached as if his purpose was friendly ; but presently a discharge of arrows and stones demonstrated his perfidy. His cavalry carried bows, which they discharged equally retreating as standing ; and the Cretan bows in the Grecian army were found so inferior in length of shot as to be totally inefficacious. A pursuit, attempted by Xenophon, with the whole rear division, was equally bootless. The Greeks then marching reached a village, where they halted for the night. This had been their intention ; but such annoyance was received, in so short a march, from so small a force, that despondency again pervaded the army.

Anab. I. 3.  
c. 3. s. 9—12.

The attempt to pursue, which had no other effect than to retard the progress of the army, and prolong the enemy's opportunity, was severely blamed by Chirisophus, and the other older generals. Xenophon acknowledged his error ; " whence however," he said, " advantage might be derived ; for it marked the measures necessary for the future quiet of their progress. Pursuit with the heavy-armed, and shots from the Cretan bows, had been found equally unavailing. But there were Rhodians in the army, many of them, he understood, expert slingers, whose slings, formed to throw leaden bullets, would carry twice as far as the Persian, accommodated for stones as large as the hand could grasp. There were also horses, some his own, some which had belonged to Clearchus, and many employed in carrying the baggage. If the fittest among all these were mounted, by men practised in the cavalry service, possibly the enemy might hereafter be less secure in flight." In pursuance of this admonition, a body of two hundred slingers was formed that evening ; and next morning fifty horse were equipped, and put under the command of Lycius, an Athenian.

During the night, Nicarchus, an Arcadian lo-  
chage, deserted, and carried about twenty men  
with him. Allurement, which the conferences had given  
opportunity for the Persians to offer, was supposed to have  
led to this. In consequence it was resolved by the generals  
to allow no more conferences, nor even to admit a message  
from the enemy; in the persuasion, derived from the various  
acts of treachery experienced, that their best security de-  
pended upon thus giving war its most hideous aspect, and  
offering themselves for its most cruel operation.

Anab. 1. 3.  
C. 3. s. 4.

Halting then a day to make the equipment of  
the cavalry and slingers more complete, they  
moved next morning earlier than usual. They had already  
crossed a bottom where they had expected attack, when  
Mithridates appeared on the height behind them, with about  
a thousand horse, and four thousand slingers and bowmen.  
According to accounts which Xenophon believed, he had  
promised Tissaphernes that, with this force, he would com-  
pel them to surrender. Why the Persians employed such  
small portions only of their numbers in these first assaults  
upon the Greeks, not directly stated by Xenophon, may be  
gathered from circumstances on various occasions related  
by him. The Grecian charge was so dreaded that it would  
probably not have been easy to lead their greatest multi-  
tudes near enough to the phalanx, even to use missile wea-  
pons with effect, unless the means of hasty retreat were  
obvious; which numbers would themselves impede. The  
purpose therefore being, by desultory annoyance, without  
the risk of a battle, to bring the Greeks to surrender, trial  
had been first made with a very small force; and the success  
had probably been beyond expectation. The inferiority of  
the Greek missile weapons, the inability of the heavy-armed  
for rapid pursuit, and the power of a very small Persian  
force to give great annoyance, had been so experienced that

c. 4. s. 1—3.

Mithridates, while he calculated his present numbers to be the best proportion for his purpose, might perhaps not unreasonably have supposed them equal to it. He had passed the bottom in pursuit of the Greeks, and was already within Persian bow-shot, when the newly-formed Grecian cavalry advanced against him. Contemptible as their numbers alone might have appeared, they were rendered formidable by the body of the targeteers following them running, and the whole heavy-armed phalanx moving steadily in support of these. The Persians took to inconsiderate flight; much slaughter was made of their infantry; and, what the Greeks appear to have esteemed a more important circumstance, eighteen horsemen, unable to disengage themselves from the bottom, were made prisoners. The march was then prosecuted without farther disturbance during that day, and the army took its quarters for the night in a large deserted town, which Xenophon calls Larissa, surrounded by a brick wall, twenty-five feet thick and a hundred high, raised on a basement of stone.<sup>16</sup>

[ Anab. 1. 3.  
C. 4. 8. 4.

<sup>16</sup> The name of a town in Media, written exactly like the name of the principal city in Thessaly, a name familiar in Greece, has excited surprise and inquiry. The conjecture of Bochart, approved by Le Clerc, Hutchinson, and Spelman, is at least ingenious and may be true. The name Larissa, though Greek in form, seems clearly not of Grecian origin. Strabo and Stephanus mention several towns, in different countries, which by the Greeks were called Larissa, but they make no mention of Larissa in Media. Bochart supposes that the town, to which Xenophon has here attributed that name, was the town spoken of by Moses, in Genesis (c. 10. v. 12.), where he says, *Asher built Resen, between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great city.* The situation he observes, as well as the size, agrees, and the change in the name was obvious for men catching Assyrian sounds with Grecian ears; for if the Greeks asked of what town those were the ruins; an Assyrian might answer, *Le Resen*, of Resen. Many of the Greek names about the Archipelago have, in late ages, we know, been corrupted by a mistake exactly analogous.

Close to Larissa Xenophon describes a pyramid, very inferior in size to those remaining in Egypt, and differing much in proportions, being about one hundred feet square at the base, and two hundred high. The comparatively very small, but still really large and costly structure, the tomb of Caius Cestius, at Rome, approaches, in its proportions, to the character of the Median pyramid.



Next day, by a march of above twenty miles, the army reached another deserted town, surrounded by a still more extraordinary fortification. The wall, fifty feet thick, was a hundred and fifty feet high; of which the lower third was faced with squared stone; the rest was completed with brick. The circuit was above twenty miles; the name Mespila. Both these Median towns had been depopulated since the transfer of the empire to the Persians.<sup>17</sup>

Anab. 1. 3.  
C. 4. 3. 6.

Appearances on the day following seemed to announce that, as the attempts with a small body to bring the Greeks to surrender had failed, it was resolved to exert against them the united strength of the formidable numbers which the Persian power could so readily command. A very large army came in sight, consisting of the troops of Ariæus, of Orontas, and of the king's natural brother, with a detachment of the king's own army under Tissaphernes, and the whole of the satrap's large escort of cavalry. They followed the march, and, pressing at the same time on the rear and both flanks, they plied missile weapons. But the Greeks had the satisfaction to find that they dared not charge with hand-arms<sup>18</sup>; that the Rhodian slings carried farther than most of the Persian bows; and that the Greek bowmen, by using the Scythian manner of drawing

s. 7.

<sup>17</sup> The history of these countries is so uncertainly known that the attempt was equally vain to reconcile Xenophon's account of Larissa and Mespila with that which he gives, in the *Cyropædia*, of the peaceful succession of Cyrus to the Median kingdom, in right of his mother, or to draw from it any proof in favour of Herodotus, who says that he acquired Media by conquest. I will however just observe, that it may have been of importance to the Median monarchs to support, at a great expense, these towns, fortified, with such astonishing labour, on the border of the desert against Assyria, while Assyria was the most formidable neighbour to Media: and when all was brought under one empire by Cyrus, the discontinuance merely of the former attention may have gone far to produce their fall.

<sup>18</sup> This is the able General Lloyd's term for what, as he observes, the French, whose quaint phrases have been in such abundance awkwardly, ignorantly, and affectedly obtruded upon our military vocabulary, called *armes blanches*.

Anab. 1. 3.  
c. 4. s. 8.

(which Xenophon has not explained), could give superior efficacy to their shots. Nor had this been experienced long when Tissaphernes withdrew hastily to a safe distance, and his example was as a command to the whole army. The Persians, during the rest of the day, followed, without at all pressing the Greeks; and when these halted near some villages to encamp they retired.

s. 8—10.

The circumstances of this day seem to furnish the reason why the Persian generals chose, and judiciously chose, to send, at first, so small a portion of their numbers to harass the Grecian march. The Persian discipline was so deficient that increase of numbers did not give proportional increase of force. The thickened shower of missile weapons still fell with little effect among the loose order of the Greek light-armed; while these turned upon the Persians their own numberless arrows; and, in their crowded multitude, almost destitute of defensive armour, scarcely a shot failed of effect.

Fortunately for the Greeks, the Persians had so expected, by force or terror, to stop their march, that scarcely any measures had been taken for, what would most effectually have stopped them, the removal of necessaries. In villages through which they had already passed prepared guts fit for slings had been found, and lead for bullets; and in those where they now arrived an abundant supply of corn. Halting there a day, they marched again on the morrow; when Tissaphernes again followed, watching opportunity of advantage, and endeavouring to harass; but from so safe a distance that little disturbance was given.

s. 11—14.

The remissness of the Persians afforded opportunity for the Greek generals to see, without in any considerable degree suffering from, the defects of their own order of march. They had found it subject to dangerous hurry and derangement when, in presence of the enemy,

bridges or any narrows were to be passed ; an inconvenience which Xenophon's account shows to have arisen, in a great degree, from the deficiency of the Greek tactics of the age. The generals however took the best measure perhaps that their circumstances would admit for obviating ill consequences, by appointing a picket of six hundred men, formed in six divisions, whose office, on such occasions, was to protect the rear, and at other times to be ready for any emergency.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The passage of Xenophon, here thus abbreviated, has puzzled translators, and exercised the ingenuity of critics, literary and military. No interpretation of it, that has fallen in my way, is at all satisfactory : but a correction of the text, proposed by Spelman, would remove the principal difficulty, with no more violence upon our present copies than the transposition of two words, *λόχους* and *ἐναμοτίας*, putting each in the other's place. This correction has all probability in its favour, and, without it, no ingenuity of the critics, in my opinion, has relieved, or can relieve, the sentence from gross absurdity.

In the passage altogether, which is interesting for the military reader, Xenophon has described, in concise and general terms, adapted to those to whom the tactics of the age were familiar, a series of complex evolutions ; the reduction of the hollow square (composed of about ten thousand men, encumbered with their baggage in the centre) to a column of various front, accommodated to the accidental circumstances of the narrow to be passed ; the re-formation of the column into a hollow square ; and the movements of a detached body, appointed to protect the general movements. We learn, from many passages of Thucydides and Xenophon, that the extension and reduction of the front of a body of heavy-armed infantry, formed in the usual way, in line or in phalanx, was frequently practised ; and, though we have no precise information how it was performed, yet its being often done, without inconvenience, in the face of an enemy, sufficiently proves that the method was orderly and good. But it should seem that this method was not readily applicable to the hollow square. Xenophon's account most clearly shows that, when circumstances of the ground required the reduction of the front of the square, a regular method, at least such as the army in which he commanded could immediately practise, was wanting. When the circumstances of the ground would no longer allow the leading face of the square to hold its front entire, the centre led ; and the wings, falling back irregularly, accordingly as they felt the pressure of the impediment, followed as they could, till the narrow was passed, and then ran up again, still irregularly, as opportunity offered, to form in line with the centre. For the flank faces the business was easy ; they had only to incline inward, as they approached the narrow, so as to be either before or behind the baggage. The rear did exactly as the leading face ; at least as far as the pursuing enemy would permit ; but the evolution gave a pursuing enemy great opportunities. For the security of the Grecian heavy-armed, against either missile or hand weapons, depended much upon the "array" (according to Milton's phrase) "of serried shields," which in the course of such

Anab. 1. 3.  
c. 4. s. 15.

In the next day's march, the fifth march and the seventh day after their separation from the Persians, the Greeks were cheered with the sight of mountain-tops, rising above the horizon of that hitherto apparently endless plain over which they had been urging their wearisome way, under continual threats of attack from a pursuing cavalry, more numerous than their whole army. Ere long hills appeared, so far projected from the mountain bases that the army soon entered the winding of their valleys. But the Persian generals, aware that the opportunity for effective operation with their cavalry was gone, knew also the advantage to be derived from the highlands they were

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evolutions would be long disordered, and the shield, for the time, almost a useless incumbrance.

With this previous explanation, and if Spelman's correction may be allowed, I am not without hope that the following translation of the passage in question may be found intelligible and just.

"The Greeks were now aware that the square is an inconvenient order of march when an enemy follows. For, when circumstances of the ground, or a bridge to be passed, compel to narrow the front, the wings, of necessity, bending, the heavy-armed are driven out of regular order; they march inconveniently: and being at the same time crowded, and their ranks and files disordered, they are incapable of efficacious action against an enemy. When the defile then is passed, and the wings open again to wheel into line, there is necessarily an interval in the centre, which is a discouraging circumstance to the soldier when the enemy follows; so that whenever a bridge or other narrow is to be passed, all are eager to be foremost, and hence increase of opportunity for the enemy. To remedy these inconveniences the generals formed a picket of six lochi, each of a hundred men, with proper officers. Whenever then occasion required that the wing should fall back, the picket had its post in the rear to protect them during the movement;" (occupying the hollow between them while any remained;) "or" (if the narrowness of the pass compelled the wings to close) "keeping clear beyond them to the rear. When, as the ground then would allow, the wings wheeled up into line, the picket again filled the opening. If it was small, the picket was formed in column of enomoties; if larger, in column of pentecostyes; if larger still, in column of lochi, so as always to fill the interval. Thus there was no longer the former confusion in passing defiles or bridges; the lochages" (not, as Spelman has translated, *of the several companies*, but of the whole army), "leading their divisions in orderly succession; and if a body of heavy-armed was wanted to act anywhere upon any occasion," (this I think to be clearly the meaning of εἰ ποὺ δέῃσι τι τῆς φάλαγγος, which Leunclavius has totally perverted by his translation, *si phalange opus esset*), "these were ready."

approaching. A large detachment of their foot-archers, men of the lowest rank, were sent forward to occupy the heights commanding the way; a guard of soldiers of superior degree attending, whose office was to enforce their exertion. Driven by stripes and the fear of death from the imperious band behind them, the Persian archers pressed in such numbers so close upon the Rhodian slingers and other Greek light-armed as to compel them to retire within the square, and then they exceedingly galled the whole army. The deficiency however of spirit, discipline, and military science of the Persians afforded opportunity for the Grecian generals to end this annoyance. Though so inferior in force, they might always dare to detach. They sent therefore a body of targeteers to a height commanding that occupied by the enemy, and the very sight sufficed: archers, and those appointed to enforce their exertion, fled together. The march was then continued uninterrupted to a village, where fortunately was found a supply of wheat-meal and wine, with large store of barley, collected for the stables of the governor of the province. For the sake of the wounded they halted here three days; and on this occasion first we find mention of surgeons in the Grecian army: eight were, according to Xenophon's phrase, now appointed. It is indeed perhaps the first mention of army surgeons by any extant Grecian writer since Homer, who has attributed very high value to the services, and very high honours to the persons, of the sons of Æsculapius, in the early age of the Trojan war.

A more level country succeeded the first hills; and here the enemy renewed their desultory assaults, so as exceedingly to distress the Greeks, encumbered with their numerous wounded; insomuch that, after a short march, they halted at the first village. Encouraged thus, the Persian generals, who had never yet ventured to

Anab. l. 3. c. 4.  
s. 16—19.

s. 20.

attack the Greeks in any station, resolved to attempt it here. Opportunity indeed must soon be seized, or the Greeks would be among mountains where, though not likely to find their own safety, they would be beyond the pursuit of the cavalry, without which the satraps and generals would not follow them. The credit therefore which these had promised themselves, from carrying all the Grecian generals into the king's presence, would have been lost; and, as so much seems to have been completely expected from them, censure and deprivation of command might follow; seldom, under a despotic government, unattended with deprivation of life, and ruin to the whole family. But they found (it is the observation of Xenophon) a wide difference between annoying a line of march, and assaulting a station. They advanced indeed no nearer than to attack with missile weapons. In such a feeble mode, their numbers, little availing to themselves, gave greater opportunity to the enemy, and they were repulsed with such loss that the attempt was not repeated.

Nevertheless it behoved the Greek generals to take every measure for obviating, or evading, such annoyance to their march as that which they had last suffered. They had now learnt that the enemy were vehemently fearful of nightly assault; for which (it is again Xenophon's remark) a Persian army indeed was very ill accommodated. For its principal force consisted in cavalry, whose horses were always tied at night, and commonly shackled<sup>20</sup>; so that, on any call to arms, the soldier had to take off the shackles, to loosen the halter, to saddle<sup>21</sup> and bridle the

<sup>20</sup> Anab. 1. 3.  
c. 4. s. 21.

<sup>20</sup> The general want of tenacity in the soil, over the vast plains of Asia, refusing efficacy to the European method of picketing, seems to have occasioned the common practice of shackling.

<sup>21</sup> Ἐπιστάζαι. It has been generally supposed that a cloth or rug was all that the Greeks and Romans used, to relieve the seat on a horse's back. Whether any thing like that heavy, awkward implement, the modern oriental

horse, and to put on his own corslet: things not all done with ready certainty in darkness and under alarm. It was therefore the practice of the Persian generals, in pursuing the Greeks, always to withdraw early in the afternoon, and to encamp not less than seven or eight miles from them. The Greek generals therefore waited for the afternoon before they would move; and, marching when they had assured themselves that the Persians were decidedly withdrawn for the night, they put such a distance between the armies that during the next two days they saw no enemy.

Anab. 1. 3.  
c. 4. s. 22, 23.

The Persian generals, though totally indisposed to daring measures, nevertheless retained their anxiety to strike some blow which might do them credit, before opportunity should be completely lost. Availing them-

s. 24—30.

selves of their knowledge of the country, they sent forward a considerable force; and, on the third day after the evening march, the Greeks were alarmed with the sight of a body of the enemy, on a height commanding the way they must pass, the army under Tissaphernes and Ariæus at the same time pressing on their rear. Quick decision was necessary. A body of targeteers, with three hundred chosen heavy-armed, under Xenophon, pushed for a summit commanding that occupied by the enemy. The Persian generals at the same time sent forward a detachment for the same purpose. Using the utmost exertion, the Greeks arrived first. The Persians on the lower height then immediately fled. Tissaphernes, finding his purpose thus baffled, presently changed the direction of his march; and the Greeks descended, unmolested, into a vale, washed by the Tigris, rich in pasture, and abounding with villages.

c. 5. s. 1.

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saddle, was in use among the ancient Persians, must be now so difficult to determine, that, in the abundance, of opportunity for noticing inaccuracies in D'Ablancourt's translation of the Anabasis, Spelman's censure on his use of the word *saddle*, in this passage, might well have been spared; especially as the word *housing*, which he has substituted, seems far from unobjectionable.

Hitherto the Persian generals had avoided all waste of the country through which the Greeks directed their march.

Anab. i. 3.  
c. 5. s. 2-4.

Here first villages were seen in flames. The Persian cavalry, by a circuitous road, entered the vale about the same time with the Greeks, cut off some of them, straggling after plunder, and set fire to the dwellings of the peaceful inhabitants. The Greeks however vindicated to themselves the possession of the villages at which they arrived first, with all their contents. Various valuable supplies were found in them, and much cattle in the adjoining fields; and the generals took occasion to encourage the troops with observing, that now the Persians evidently acknowledged their superiority, for they made war as if the country was no longer their own.

s. 5-12.

Nevertheless new and pressing difficulties occurred. Hitherto the march had been prosecuted along the great road, the principal communication from Babylon to the northern provinces, and never far from the course of the Tigris. A new face of country now presented itself; they were arrived at the foot of that vast ridge which, under various names, stretches from the Ægean sea to the Caspian, and onward by the north of China to the Pacific ocean. The great northern road insinuated itself among the mountains. Two other great roads offered: one leading eastward to Ecbatana and Susa, the ordinary spring and summer residences of the great king; one westward, across the river, directly to Lydia and Ionia; apparently that by which Ariæus had proposed to march, had he not succeeded in his negotiation for peace and pardon. This was the desirable road for the Greeks. But the river was so deep that the longest spear, it was found, would not reach the bottom; and, could boats have been collected, or rafts formed, a large body of cavalry, seen on the farther bank, while the army under Tissaphernes watched their rear, would have made



the passage next to impracticable. Mountain-precipices overhanging the eastern bank forbade even an attempt to seek a passage higher up. Under these circumstances, in a country of which the most slender report had never yet reached Greece, the generals had recourse to their prisoners. By these they were informed that the mountains before them were held by the Cardoos<sup>22</sup>; a most fierce and warlike people; who, though surrounded by the dominions, had never owned the sovereignty, of the great king: that an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men had once been sent to reduce them, and the current report was, that not one of the number had ever returned: that nevertheless they sometimes were, by compact, upon good terms with the neighbouring satraps, who did not disdain to enter into treaty with them; and then communication was open between their country and the Persian provinces: that beyond their mountains lay Armenia, an extensive and very plentiful country, whence communication was ready to all quarters.

After every inquiry in their power, having weighed all circumstances, the Greek generals resolved to pursue their way into Armenia. The usual animosity of the Cardoos against the Persians, it was hoped, would dispose them to friendship with the enemies of the Persians. At least, annoyance from the Persian cavalry would be obviated; and

<sup>22</sup> Καρδοῦχοι. From this people the modern Curdies seem to have derived their blood, their name, and their character; for which Volney and other travellers may be consulted. The last syllable of the name has apparently been added by the Greeks, as necessary for the inflexions of their language. The *χ* has been intended to represent an oriental guttural, alien to all English enunciation, and perhaps, like the French final *n*, rather a modification of the preceding vowel than a clearly distinct consonant. Thus a south Welshman, in pronouncing the British word *Wyn*, begins with a guttural sound, most nearly represented in English orthography by the letter *g*, whence the word is written *Gwyn*; and a Spaniard, at least a Castilian, endeavouring to speak the English words *White*, *What*, *When*, pronounces nearly *Gwite*, *Gwat*, *Gwen*; which seems to have been also nearly the pronunciation of the old Lowland Scots, who often wrote *quh* for the English *wh*.

it was indeed little likely that Tissaphernes would, with any part of his army, venture to pursue among the mountains. In the latter speculation they were not deceived. Tissaphernes immediately turned his march; probably thinking that, next to having the heads of the Grecian generals to lay before the king, the certainty of their being engaged among the Cardoo highlands was of all things most desirable for him: for, with little risk of contradiction, he might now make any report of his own prowess against them. Truth indeed, as the modern history of the East abundantly evinces, so hardly finds its way to a despotic throne, that the base circumvention of the Grecian generals may very possibly have been totally disguised, and those unfortunate men may have been presented to Artaxerxes as prisoners of war, honourably made, proofs of the meritorious exertion of his victorious forces.<sup>23</sup>

Much however as the Greeks had already given up of those conveniences for the long march to the Ionian shore, which they might have preserved had the way been friendly, it became necessary now still farther to lighten their baggage.

*Anab.* 1. 4.  
c. 1.

Slaves, a species of plunder unknown to modern European armies, were much coveted by the Grecian soldier. They required no cattle, like other plunder, to transport them; on the contrary, they served, as cattle, to transport other plunder. Since their breach with the Persians, the Greeks had collected numerous slaves, male and female. For the march over the mountains it was held requisite to abandon a large proportion of them. Accordingly the males were mostly dismissed, but discipline was not powerful enough to make the soldiers part with their women.

<sup>23</sup> Such a deception is perhaps more than untravelled Englishmen will readily conceive possible, much as many of them are disposed to revile every administration of their own country; but in the East it would appear familiar.

Advancing then among the mountains, they had the mortification to find every endeavour vain for bringing the fierce Cardoos to any accommodation. Obligated to fight their way, they encountered, with little remission, during seven days, far greater difficulties and dangers than had been experienced in the plains from the countless cavalry of the great king. Meanwhile, from the chill of autumnal rains, frequent and heavy among the highlands, they suffered the more as it so quickly followed the heats of an Assyrian summer. The road, always through narrow defiles, often steep, was often commanded by precipices; whence, with no other weapons than rolling fragments of a rock, a few men might stop an army. But the Cardoos had other weapons. They gave extraordinary efficacy to their bowshots, by a method of drawing, assisted by the foot, by which they discharged arrows three feet long with such force as to pierce shields and corslets. The Cretan bowmen learnt from their enemies to improve their own practice, so as to be highly useful in this passage; but the Cardoo arrows were so above proportion for their bows that they could use them only as darts. Nevertheless science and discipline, with superior defensive armour, enabled the Greeks everywhere to overbear opposition; and when they could reach the towns which were numerous, and all unfortified, they found good houses and abundant provisions: for the Cardoos, in a rude style, lived well among their mountains.

Anab. 1. 4.  
c. 2. s. 14.

Compelled thus to fight their way, and to take by violence what they wanted, when at length they had completed the laborious and dangerous passage of the mountains, and the Armenian plain came in view, increased difficulty occurred. A deep and rapid river, washing the foot of the mountains, crossed the road. On the farther bank a Persian army appeared, prepared to dispute the passage.

c. 5.

It was commanded by the satrap Orontas, who, by another road, had reached his satrapy before them. The Cardoos, with sharpened animosity, having followed their march, were gathered on the heights behind, ready, at the favourable moment, to fall upon their rear.

While the Greek generals were at the greatest loss to choose among the difficulties before them, a more favourable ford than that lying in the direct course of the great road was, by mere accident, discovered at no great distance, unguarded. Without hesitation they proceeded to profit from it, and the first division of the army had no sooner passed than the Persians began to fly. It appears probable that the satraps had promised themselves and their troops an easy victory over the small remains of the Grecian army which might escape, if indeed any should escape, the Cardoo arms. The sight of their numbers, not sensibly diminished, and the observation that the fierce highlanders feared to attack them, even with missile weapons, till more than half their force had crossed the river, seem together to have occasioned the panic which urged the whole Persian army to fly; and so profusely that the very small body of the Grecian cavalry pursuing, supported only by the targeteers, took a considerable part of the baggage. The rear division of the Greeks, which the Cardoos, watching the favourable moment, at length attacked, was commanded by Xenophon; who, in relating his precautions to evade, and his efforts to check, their assaults, confesses that their activity, boldness, and skill were highly distressing; and, though the loss altogether was not great, yet that they did more execution than all the satrap's army.

The hazardous passage of the mountains and the river being thus fortunately effected; one enemy, very formidable among the highlands, but wanting discipline for action in a plain, being left behind, and the other, which in the plain

should have been formidable, flying before them, the Greeks prosecuted their march sixteen or Anab. 1. 4.  
c. 4. s. 1. eighteen miles uninterrupted, over a fine champaign country, of gentle rise and fall, appearing singularly to invite habitation and cultivation, yet without a dwelling to be seen; all was waste, through the inability or neglect of the Persian government to protect its subjects against the inroads of the Cardoos. In the evening they reached a large village, where, to their great advantage, farther proofs of Persian supineness occurred. The satrap having a palace there, the place was less likely to be forgotten or neglected, and yet, as if purposely left for their present refreshment and future supply, they found provisions abounding.

Five days then they proceeded, expecting always opposition, but meeting none. On the sixth, arriving at the river Teleboas, which divides Eastern from Western Armenia, they saw the farther bank occupied by an army commanded by Tiribazus, governor of the latter, who seemed prepared to dispute their entrance into his country. Soon however it became evident that the hope of success in open contest with the Grecian heavy-armed, which had been abandoned in the centre of the empire, under the monarch's eye, was not resumed in that distant province. A message of peace soon arrived from Tiribazus, with a proposal that, if they would abstain from useless devastation within his government, not only their passage should be unmolested, but they should be allowed to take necessary provisions. Such a proposal was accepted gladly, and a treaty, of which it was the basis, was quickly concluded.

The march of the next three days was then as s. 4. through a friendly country; though Tiribazus followed with his army, at no great distance, watching their motions. But, in a small variation of latitude, mounting gradually from the burning flats of Mesopotamia, little raised

above the Indian ocean's tide, to the lofty plains near which the Tigris and Euphrates have their sources, they experienced a violent change of climate; a change apparently unforeseen when, on the southern side of the mountains, they burnt their tents. While they slept, unsheltered, on the ground, so heavy a snow fell as to bury men and cattle. Wood fortunately abounded, with which they made large fires. Olive oil, which in Greece was commonly used to relieve the inconveniences equally of excessive cold and excessive heat, the severe winters of Armenia denied; but oils of bitter almonds, sesame, and turpentine supplied the deficiency; or, if these failed, the abundance of lard was a resource, which the Greeks did not spurn at, for copious unction of their whole bodies. In other points they were plentifully supplied; the Armenian villages abounding, not only with necessaries, but luxuries; not only with corn and meat, but variety of pulse, dried fruits, and wines old and flavoured.

All circumstances considered, their condition seemed now even fortunate; when the necessity of dispensing with the regularity of a camp, for the sake of shelter among unfortified villages, produced an untoward change. The authority of the generals, scarcely sufficing always to enforce due order in the assembled army, could not enforce regular conduct in scattered quarters; and, against the faith of the treaty, some houses were, in mere wantonness, set on fire, at the time of marching in the morning, by those who had profited from their shelter during the night. This was

probably among the circumstances which stimulated Tiribazus, instead of longer following the Greeks, to advance before them, and occupy the heights commanding a defile which they must pass. A prisoner fortunately gave information of this circumstance, and a disposition was made for driving the Persians from the com-

Anab. l. 4.  
c. 4. s. 7.

s. 7.

s. 11—13.

manding ground. The Persians however fled before assault reached them, leaving their camp, with the pavilion of Tiribazus, and all its furniture, the silver-footed bed, the table plate, and many of the household slaves, the easy prey of the victors. The regard for truth which Xenophon generally evinces, the candour with which he often declares the crimes of his fellow-countrymen, even those in which, as we shall find, he was compelled to take a leading part, justly entitle him to our general credit: yet it must be confessed that his narrative rather stammers here; and if Tiribazus was perfidious, as Xenophon affirms, he certainly took his measures very ill.

Thus easily as they disposed of the Persian forces that would have opposed them, the Greeks now found new and most formidable difficulties to encounter. In Eastern Armenia, according to the information which Xenophon obtained, they had crossed the Tigris near its source. They now approached the head of the Euphrates; and while winter still advanced, and they still gradually ascended to a higher level of ground, a very disadvantageous change of country occurred. For three days' march all was desert; the snow, generally six feet deep, had Anab. i. 4.  
c. 5. s. 1-4. blotted out all roads: the north wind, always extremely sharp, often blew violently. Guides were procured from the villages without difficulty; but provisions failed, and wood became scarce. The Greeks, unpractised in such climates, seem not to have obtained information from the natives how to manage their fires, or to profit from the shelter which snow itself may afford. In traversing the snowy deserts of America, the first business, where it is proposed to halt for the night, is to clear a space for each fire, sufficient to contain the party that is to sleep around it. The snow then dissolves little, and the party rest on the ground, warmed by the fire, and sheltered from all

Anab. 1. 4.  
c. 5. s. 5.

wind. But the Greeks discovered the depth of the snow only by its melting, where they made their fires on it; and on the snow itself they laid themselves to rest, exposed to the bitter blast. Marching, and thus halting, they suffered nearly alike. Some lost their toes, some their eyes; many slaves, and even some of the soldiers, died of cold and hunger. The baggage-cattle of course suffered, and many perished.

s. 9, 10.

In this extraordinary country, in the latitude of the finest climates, the rigour of an arctic winter drove the inhabitants to the resources which are familiar in Siberia and Tartary.

They formed their houses under ground, where  
( s. 19—23. men and cattle herded together. Nevertheless the produce of the soil was not niggardly. The army, arriving at length at some villages, found provisions abounding; meat of various kinds, fowls, and wheaten bread. Wine, from the grape, either the climate, or the want of modern skill, denied; but the people consoled themselves with beer; which Xenophon commends, under the name of barley-wine; and altogether the change of condition was found so advantageous that he speaks of this as a land of luxury. Fortunately for the Greeks, the inhabitants, se-

c. 6. s. 1.

cluded from communication, believed their confident assertion, that they were the king's troops, and treated them with the utmost kindness and respect. Here therefore they rested eight days, to prepare for new fatigue.

During this halt Xenophon resided in the house of the chief officer or magistrate of one of the villages, with whose behaviour he was much satisfied. When the army moved again, this man was taken as a guide, and his son as a hostage for his fidelity. The march then being prosecuted three days, and no habitation seen, while men and cattle suffered much, Chirisophus, impatient, imputed to the guide the pur-



pose of avoiding the villages; and, refusing credit to his assertion that the country necessarily to be traversed was uninhabited, in anger struck him. The man so felt the indignity that, though his son remained in the hands of the Greeks, he left them the following night, and was seen no more. Xenophon expresses himself much hurt by this Spartan brutality and its consequence. He adds however that it was the only occasion, during the whole march, on which he had any difference with Chirisophus.

Fortunately the river Phasis was not far off, and for seven days its course directed the way.<sup>24</sup> Diverging then for two days, the army reached the defiles leading from the lofty plains of Armenia to the lower country between the Caspian and Euxine seas. Here the warriors of three fierce tribes, the Phasians, Chalybs, and Taocs, none owing allegiance to the great king, were assembled to dispute the passage. Stratagem however, with superior arms and superior discipline, enabled the Greeks to force their way with little loss. The defiles being passed, opposition ceased; and, in the plain beyond, villages were found, abundantly stored with provisions for present supply. But, in a march of five days afterward, no food could be obtained: the Taocs had removed every thing to strong holds on the hills, and the Greeks were reduced to the sad necessity of adding slaughter to robbery for subsistence. It may indeed be feared that mild methods were not duly tried for bringing the rude people to an accommodation. One of their strong holds was stormed; and

B. C. 400.  
Ol. 94. 3.  
January.  
Foster's  
Diss.

Anab. l. 4.  
c. 7. s. 1-9.

<sup>24</sup> The learned author of the Dissertation on the Geography of the Anabasis has supposed that the guide, who deserted, had purposely misled the Greeks, and that they continued long to wander out of their way. Xenophon furnishes no sufficient ground for such a supposition; and, on the contrary, the accounts of ancient and modern travellers seem to explain why an experienced, intelligent, and faithful guide would prefer a circuitous road. That of Tournefort, quoted in the next note, suffices to vindicate the probability of Xenophon's narrative.

such was the abhorrence, among the unfortunate families who held it, of falling into the power of the Greeks, that, when resistance was found vain, the women threw their own children down the steeps, and then, with the men, precipitated themselves. An Arcadian lochage, Æneas of Stymphalus, endeavouring to stop one whose dress seemed to mark superior rank, was dragged down the precipice with him, and they perished together.

Anab. i. 4.  
c. 7. s. 10—13.

The cattle, thus acquired, supported the Greeks in traversing, during seven days, the country of the Chalybs; a people distinguished, among the Asiatics, by their superior armour, adapted to close fight, and by their courage in using it. This people had removed every thing from the villages; and it was not till after proceeding four days through the more level territory of the Scythinians,

s. 14.

that the Greeks found a supply. After four days' march again they arrived at Gymnias, a large and wealthy city. It is remarkable that only one town of such a description, Opis, on the river Physcus in Media, has occurred in the whole length of way from the border of Mesopotamia to this place. We read only of villages: meaning apparently towns inhabited solely by husbandmen, with the few artificers necessary to husbandry. Here fortunately was found a disposition to prefer peaceful accommodation to the chance of war. The chief, or governor, furnished the Greeks with a guide; and, by the same measure, relieved his people from guests whom they feared, and revenged them on neighbours whom they hated; for the guide, in pursuance of his instructions, conducted the Greeks through a country which he encouraged them to plunder, and even urged them to burn and destroy.

This man had engaged, at the peril of his life, to lead the army, in five days, within sight of the Euxine sea, and he made his word good. From a hill, in the course of the fifth

day's march, it was distinctly seen. The leading division immediately gave a shout of joy, which Anab. l. 4. c. 7. s. 16—18. was presently repeated by those next in the line; while the rear, ignorant of what the growing tumult meant, apprehended an enemy in front, and danger more than common. Pressing however forward, to give the assistance that might be wanting, they presently distinguished the reiteration of the cheering words "the sea! the sea!" Joy then filled every eye, congratulations flowed from every lip; and, in the tumult of gladness, without waiting for orders or regular permission, all sedulously employed themselves in collecting stones, with which a large barrow was quickly raised, as a monument of the happy event. Want of generous gratitude was not among the national vices of the Greeks. The guide was liberally rewarded. A horse, a silver cup, a s. 19. Persian dress were presented to him, with ten darics in money, and, at his particular request, many rings. He then pointed out a village at a distance, which would afford commodious quarters, gave directions for the way forward, through the country of the Macrons, and in the evening took his leave.

Next day a circumstance occurred, in another c. 8. s. 1—6. manner indicating the approach of the army to the sphere of Grecian communication and commerce. While the advanced guard were felling some trees, to facilitate the passage of a river, a body of the Macrons approached to oppose it. Orders were not yet given for measures to force the way, when a targeteer of the Grecian army came to Xenophon, and told him "he had overheard the enemy's conversation, and understood their language; in short, circumstances altogether gave him to believe theirs to be his native country; for, though long since free, he had originally been imported to Athens as a slave. If therefore he might be permitted, he would speak to them." The Macrons

readily listened to a man speaking their own language; and, being told that the Greeks desired their friendship, and were enemies to the king of Persia, they instantly laid aside all appearance of animosity. A treaty, presently concluded, was ratified by the exchange of a Grecian for a Macron spear, with invocations of their respective deities. The barbarians then assisted sedulously in felling trees and clearing the way, mixed without reserve in the Grecian camp, and in a march of three days through their country, providing the best market it could readily afford, conducted the army to the Colchian mountains.

Treaty with the Colchians being either neglected or un-

Anab. 1. 4.  
c. 8. s. 7—17.

availing, an effort of some difficulty and hazard here became necessary. But against superior arms and discipline, directed by superior science, the numbers

February.  
Forster's Diss.

and bravery of barbarians, though seconded by very advantageous ground, as usual failed; and, in two days more, the army reached the first great object of its wishes, a Grecian town, Trapezus, now vulgarly Trebizond, on the shore of the Euxine sea. At this place, a large and flourishing commercial settlement from Sinope, itself a colony from Miletus, they found that friendly reception which, from those claiming the same ancestry, speaking the same language, acknowledging the same religion, though unconnected in civil government, they had promised themselves. Here therefore,

Anab. 1. 4.  
c. 8. s. 18—21.

as for their first arrival in a territory intrinsically friendly, they performed sacrifices, vowed to the supposed guides of their march, Protecting Jupiter and Hercules. Games in the Grecian manner were added; horse-races, foot-races, wrestling, boxing, and the pancratium. Thus they proposed at the same time to celebrate their own adventure, to entertain their kind hosts, and to show farther their respect and gratitude to the gods.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The Greeks passed through Armenia in midwinter. Tournefort set out from Trebizond for Erzerum, the modern capital of Armenia, in the train of

## SECTION V.

*Return of the Greeks. — Transactions at Trapezus. — Cerasus (beneficial Effect of Grecian Superstition), Cotyora (Spirit of Grecian military Discipline), Sinope, Heraclea, Port-Calpe.*

WHEN once thus arrived on Grecian ground, it was not easy to persuade the multitude that any considerable dangers or difficulties could necessarily interfere with their progress to Greece. But their numbers, hitherto so important for their preservation, became now their hindrance. One or two, or

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the bashaw of that place, toward midsummer. Even at that season the bashaw took a circuitous way, as the more commodious and less rugged. On the seventh of June nevertheless, they passed over bare mountains, with snow on the ground ; the cold severe ; the fog so thick that they could not see one another four paces off ; and even in the valley, in which they halted for the night, not a stick, nor even a cowslot, says Tournefort, was to be found to burn ; even the bashaw could have no victuals dressed that day. From Trebizond thus far (a journey of five days) the country bore a near resemblance to the Alps and Pyrenees. Even in descending the mountains, on the southern side, the way was through narrow, barren, woodless valleys, inspiring, according to Tournefort's expression, nothing but melancholy. It was not till the tenth or eleventh day's march, in that favourable season, with all the advantages that a bashaw, going in peace to take possession of his government, could command, that they arrived among fertile fields, in which various grains were cultivated ; and not till the twelfth day that they reached Erzerum. Snow had fallen at Erzerum on the first of June. At midsummer, for an hour after sunrise, the cold was so sharp there as to benumb the hands and incapacitate them for writing, though the midday heat was inconvenient, even to a Languedocian. Not a tree nor a bush was to be seen around Erzerum : fir, brought a two or three days' journey, was the only wood known for burning ; the common fuel was cow-dung ; of the effect of which upon his victuals, and the smell everywhere, Tournefort vehemently complains. *Voy. au Levant, Lettre 18.*

According to the same respectable writer, the shortest way from Erzerum to Trebizond, for a single man, in the favourable season, is only a five days' journey. But his account, and all accounts, show it likely that the direct way, from the Armenian plains to Trapezus, would have been impracticable for the Grecian army, and that it was necessary to diverge eastward. Georgia, though to the north, has a much milder climate, and supplies Armenia with fruits. It seems therefore every way probable that the guide, ill-treated by Chirisophus, executed his office faithfully and ably, while he remained with the army ; conducting it by a circuitous indeed, but the most advantageous, and, at that season, perhaps even the only way.

perhaps a hundred, might readily have found conveyance by sea. But how, at Trapezus, vessels could be collected for transporting all, and how, in the interval, so large an addition to the population of a town with so small a territory, and so distant from friendly and civilised countries, could be subsisted, were matters apparently not within calculation. On the contrary, to pass by land, to any point of the connected line of Grecian colonies, for a small party was perhaps impossible; yet their united strength might probably command its way, though far, through a hostile country, mountainous and difficult, with a few Grecian settlements only, at wide intervals, on the coast. The soldiers however, Anab. i. 5.  
c. 1. 5. 2, 3. alive to the impression of past fatigues and perils, were thoughtlessly eager for the passage by sea. "I am tired," said one, "of eternally collecting my necessaries, walking, running, marching in rank and file, mounting guard, and fighting. With the sea before us, why should we not use the advantage, and proceed the rest of our way to Greece, like Ulysses, sleeping?"<sup>26</sup> This improvident speech was received with general applause; and Chirisophus, a well-meaning and zealous, but not an able officer, confirmed the impression, by exciting hope that he could give practicability to the proposal: "Anaxibius," he said, "who, I am informed, now commands the Lacedæmonian fleet, is my friend, and if you will commission me, I think I can bring both transports to carry, and triremes to convoy you." This was decisive; the soldiers, who, in the deficiency of established subordination, had been summoned by their generals to common debate upon the occasion, immediately voted that Chirisophus should go without delay.

It remained then for Xenophon, the other generals little assisting in difficult circumstances, to provide that the army

<sup>26</sup> Referring to Homer's description in the thirteenth book of the *Odyssey*, v. 116.

should have subsistence, and to preserve in it that order and discipline without which it would risk to become a nuisance to friends or a prey to enemies. Few had wherewithal to buy necessities in the Trapezuntine market, nor could the Trapezuntines furnish a market equal to the demand. To rob the neighbouring barbarians seemed the only resource; and, under sanction of the common Grecian tenet, that, against those to whom men are bound by no compact, they are by no moral or religious law forbidden any violence, it was put in practice without scruple; at the proposal of Xenophon himself, and under regulations of his proposal. At first this nefarious expedient was successful; but repeated losses taught the barbarians to secure their property, and revenge themselves on the robbers. A marauding party, consisting of two lochi, was mostly cut off; Cleænetus, the commanding lochage, fell; and the slaughter was altogether greater perhaps than, in any one action, the army had yet suffered. Nothing was now any more to be found within distance, for completing the expedition in a day; for the guides furnished by the Trapezuntines, instructed in the considerations necessary for the welfare of their town, avoided the nearer tribes, whose friendship had been cultivated or was desirable, and led the parties to those more distant, who were either hostile, or whose disposition the Trapezuntines little regarded. Thus, without advancing, the Greeks were undergoing the fatigues and dangers of a march through an enemy's country. The necessity however was urgent for continuing the practice, and giving it, if possible, increased efficacy. Intelligence therefore being obtained of a strong hold in the mountains, where the tribe esteemed the most warlike of the coast had collected their cattle, Xenophon put himself at the head of half the army, and, not

Anab. l. 5.  
c. 1. s. 3.

Ch. 15. s. 4.  
of this Hist.

Anab. l. 5.  
c. 1. s. 11.

s. 12.

c. 2. s. 1.

c. 3. s. 2.

without hazard equal to any undergone in the whole expedition, stormed it, and led off the booty.

Anab. 1. 5.  
c. 3. s. 3.

The store thus iniquitously acquired was nearly exhausted, and where to procure another supply nobody could tell, while the return of Chirisophus, and intelligence from him, remained equally in vain expected.

c. 1. s. 7, 8. I

Xenophon, always fearing that vessels for transporting so large an army could not be procured, had proposed sending requisitions to the Grecian towns on the coast to repair the roads communicating between them, for the purpose of facilitating the march, if to march should at last become necessary; but the soldiers would not then hear of marching, or give their sanction to any thing that might promote the purpose. Sending nevertheless of his own authority recommendation of the measure to the magistrates, with admonition of the inconvenience that might arise from the delay of so large an army in their narrow territories, his measure had extensively the desired effect. A proposal to press vessels for the transport-service having been better received by the army, a penteconter, borrowed from the Trapezuntines for the purpose, was committed to Dexippus, a Lacedæmonian. But this man, betraying the trust, sailed for the Hellespont, and left the deceived army to account to the Trapezuntines for the loss of their vessel. These nevertheless lent a triaconter, one of the smallest vessels used as ships of war by the Greeks, having only thirty oars. Polycrates, an Athenian, appointed commander, was diligent and successful; many vessels were pressed, and the cargoes being landed at Trapezus were preserved for the owners.

c. 3. s. 6, 9, 10.

The evident necessity for moving was now become such that none any longer refused or hesitated. An estimate being made of what the vessels collected

s. 3.

might carry, it was presently agreed that, under the two



eldest generals, Philesius and Sophænetus, all who had passed their fortieth year should be indulged with conveyance by sea, together with the sick, the many women and children, and the heavy baggage; and that the rest should march by land. Through the fortunate precaution of Xenophon the road was already prepared. The marching and the navigating divisions then moved together, and, on the third day, met again at Cerasus, another settlement of the Sinopians, on the Euxine shore; the place to which Europe owes the cherry, the natural produce of the surrounding hills,—first carried to Italy by Lucullus, the Roman conqueror of the country, above three hundred and thirty years after the expedition of Cyrus; thence, within little more than a century, naturalised in Britain, and still, wherever it has spread, bearing in its name the memorial of its origin.

Tournefort,  
Voy. au  
Levant,  
lett. 17.

On re-assembling at Cerasus the army was mustered, and the heavy-armed were found to be still eight thousand six hundred remaining out of about ten thousand. It is certainly matter for wonder, that no greater loss was suffered from the various enemies encountered; but what, with those who have the care of armies, infinitely more deserves consideration, is that, in such a service, without even ordinary conveniences, without tents, without stores, passing through changes of climate the most violent, though some had been frozen to death, scarcely any had perished by sickness.<sup>27</sup>

Anab. l. 5.  
c. 3. s. 4.

<sup>27</sup> Xenophon's summary detail, if it may be so called, of the loss is remarkable: Οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τε πολεμίων, καὶ χιόνος, καὶ εἴ τις νόσῳ, as if he was hardly certain that any had died of sickness. The passage may perhaps be most nearly translated thus: *The rest perished by enemies and snow, and possibly a few by sickness.*

Since, by a wise and humane attention, the evil of that formerly dreadful scourge of the modern sea-service, the scurvy, has been obviated, the men employed in that service have been no more subject to mortality, or disability, from sickness, than those in the healthiest occupation of civil life ashore.

The delay at Trapezus had given opportunity to dispose advantageously of the slaves taken in the course of the march. It appears to have been a principal object of the traffic of these distant settlements, on barbarian shores, to supply Greece with slaves; and there seems too much reason to fear that, opportunity exciting cupidity, cattle and corn

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In land warfare indeed circumstances frequently arise in which the health of the soldier cannot be provided for, as that of men ashipboard always may. But seeing sickness so greatly more prevalent in one service than in the other, may it not deserve consideration what are the circumstances, among those likely to affect health, in which they do, but need not, differ; or need not in the degree in which they do? In looking to those circumstances then, two, much within the officer's power, are striking; the diet and the clothing. The seaman's diet, when aboard, is provided for him, and he has scarcely any choice; the soldier is often much at liberty about both meat and drink. On the contrary, for clothing, the seamen manages for himself; chooses, among what he possesses, what he would, on different occasions, wear, and how he would wear it; in hot or in cold, in wet or in dry weather, in action or in rest. The soldier is denied almost all choice: the admonition of his feelings, arising from the state of his body at the time, given by beneficent nature purposely to direct him, he is forbidden to obey. Young and old, of one constitution and another, all are compelled to follow the same regulations. Pliant youth readily accommodates itself so far as to bear what is, at first, severely adverse to the feelings, and may remain injurious to the constitution; especially tight ligatures, and the heat produced in hot weather by over thick or over close clothing; insomuch that, when the habit is fixed, it becomes even painful to dispense with the injurious pressure: which however surely cannot be advantageous preparation for winter duty, even in the climate of our own island, in its internal peace amid a warring world; and must be still more injurious on the continent for the mild winter campaigns of modern European warfare. If then, on severe service, indulgence is allowed, the habit of the parade and field of exercise is adverse to a just use of it; if the desire is not done away, the knowledge, which should have been the result of experience, will be wanting. For the soldier to take advantageous care of himself in clothing, as the seaman does, he must have the seaman's practice in that care.

The Greeks appear to have been limited by no regulations, either for clothing, as the soldier with us, or for diet, as the seaman; though for one important circumstance of diet, they were limited by the fortunate ignorance, in their age, of spirituous liquors. In their case thus it might appear that the opportunity of choice, advantageous for clothing, was not generally injurious for diet; and it would follow that the denial of opportunity to consult feeling for clothing may reasonably be suspected to be, in our service, the injurious circumstance. Of modern physicians, some have attributed much importance to clothing; others appear to have slighted the consideration of it. Those who have attended armies on service, diligently adverting to all circumstances, will best know how to estimate its value, and to direct practice accordingly.

were not alone sought in the various excursions from Trapezus, but the wretched barbarians, when they could be caught, were themselves taken, and exposed in the Trapezuntine market. The spoil, which must have been mostly collected after the circumvention of the generals, was now of large amount, rising chiefly from the sale or ransom of prisoners. At Cerasus it was divided, and, according to custom, a tenth was committed to the generals, to be disposed of in offerings to the gods; principally to the Delphian Apollo and the Ephesian Diana.

Anab. 1. 5.  
c. 3. s. 5—13.

As in approaching Greece apprehension of dangers and difficulties wore away, a carelessness, approaching to scorn, of discipline and subordination grew: the generals were regarded only as attention to them was necessary for either profit or safety. The eve of departure from

c. 7. s. 9—15.

Cerasus therefore, after a stay of ten days, was chosen by a profligate band, collected by a profligate lochage, for an attempt to plunder a village of friendly barbarians in the neighbourhood. Measures however were so ill taken that the outrage was successfully resisted, and the lochage himself killed, with many of his associates. But the barbarians, alarmed at their own success, sent three of their elders to Cerasus, to complain of the injury attempted against them, to deprecate revenge for the unpremeditated slaughter made in their necessary defence, and to offer, what they knew Grecian prejudices made important, the bodies of the slain for burial. The marching division of the army was already gone when they arrived; but, the Cerasuntines assuring them that the injurious attack had been the unapproved measure only of some worthless individuals, they would have followed by sea to the next Grecian town on the coast, rather than appear deficient in compliment and apology to the generals and army. Unfortunately the miscreants, who had fled from the victorious barbarians, were

still in Cerasus. Learning what was going forward, and fearing just vengeance, their resource was to excite a tumult, in which the unfortunate elders were stoned to death; and, as an inflamed multitude is not guided by reason, passion took new objects, the generals themselves were alarmed, and some of the Cerasuntines perished before quiet could be restored.

These, the actions of a profligate few or an impassioned multitude, were disowned and reprobated by the generals, and, in any moment of reflection, by the greater part of the army; whose principles of humanity and morality nevertheless, as we become more acquainted with them, will not

Anab. 1. 5.  
c. 4. & 1.

rise in our estimation. The marching division

soon after entered a country of uncommonly rugged mountains, occupied by an independent horde, the Mosyneeks, with complexions singularly fair and manners singularly uncouth. The dissensions of this people among themselves principally facilitated the march: one tribe had no sooner resolved to oppose, than another became disposed

c. 5. & 1.

to favour it. Thus, in a passage of eight days,

the Greeks found means to obviate opposition.

Equally unresisted, they crossed the still loftier mountains of the Chalybs, subjects of the Mosyneeks, and employed by them in working the steel, the valuable produce of their rugged soil. Descending then into the more champaign country of the Tibarenes, they were met by heralds, bearing presents, the pledges of hospitality. But peace here lost its charms. The generals themselves had observed from the heights, with longing eyes, that the villages of the Tibarenes were in assailable situations; and plunder and gratification to the dishonest desires of their troops were immediately proposed. The offered presents were therefore rejected; for acceptance would have engaged them in compact with the givers; and this would have engaged the gods

in opposition to the robbery, for which, on the contrary, it was hoped to obtain divine approbation and favour. Sacrifice was accordingly resorted to, but the symptoms were adverse: more victims were immolated, but in vain. The augurs were unanimous in declaring that the gods totally disapproved war with the Tibarenes.

Between two writers, so near together in all other points as Thucydides and Xenophon, the difference appears extraordinary which we find in their manner of speaking of the religion of their age, and particularly of the reputed science of divination, which was so intimately connected with the religion. Thucydides, a man evidently of very serious and generally just thought on religious and moral subjects, has shown no faith in pretensions to prophecy, nor attributed any consequence to a sacrifice. On the contrary, Xenophon is found continually holding out the importance of various ceremonies, especially sacrifice, and avowing implicit credit in that science which pretended, from the symptoms of victims, from dreams, and from various occurrences in nature, to learn the will of the gods, and to foretel future events. It is hazardous to undertake to say for another what he thought, which he has not said, on a subject on which he has said much; but some passages in the writings of Xenophon seem to afford ground for supposing that a strong feeling of the want of that check upon the passions of men, which a sense of religion alone can insure, and neither the religion nor the morality of his age offered, led him to value a superstition which might be employed for the most salutary purposes, and to carry the profession of his belief beyond the reality. On more than one occasion we find cause to suspect that he held and used influence among the prophets and augurs of the Cyrean army: and indeed if ever deceit for preventing evil might be allowed, it would do credit to the scholar of Socrates in the business

of the Tibarenes ; for apparently nothing but the advantage made of a salutary superstition could have preserved the property of that unoffending people from plunder, their persons from slavery, and probably many lives from slaughter. The augurs not preaching any purer morality than the army professed, not holding, as any general rule, "that unoffending men might not, without offence to the gods, be plundered, enslaved, or murdered," but merely insisting "that the gods denied their approbation in the existing circumstances," the presents of the Tibarenes were at length accepted. The army then proceeded peacefully through their country, and in two days arrived at Cotyora, a third Grecian colony from Sinope, with a port on the Euxine sea.

B. C. 400.  
June. Forster's  
Diss.

Whether ill report had preceded them to Cotyora, or what else was the cause, they found there something very different from the hospitality expected, and hitherto experienced, from Grecian towns. Admission, even for their sick, was denied ; a market, even without the walls, was refused. Plunder thus became a necessary resource ; and the farms of the Cotyorites, and the villages of the neighbouring Paphlagonians, suffered. But the conduct of those who directed the counsels of the Cotyorites, in which the Sinopian superintendent held the lead, appears to have been remiss as it was illiberal. Without violence, as far as our information goes, the troops found opportunity to enter the town. To insure the freedom of future ingress and egress, possession was taken of the gates, and quarters were required for the sick ; but the rest of the army remained encamped without the walls, and no farther force was put upon the people. Information quickly communicated to Sinope brought a deputation thence to the army, and a friendly accommodation followed. It was agreed that the sick should remain in quarters, that

Anab. 1. 5.  
c. 5. s. 5. &  
seq.

a market should be provided, and that vessels should be furnished for transporting the army to Heraclea, the next Grecian town beyond Sinope, and the most easterly on the coast independent of that city: Anab. 1. 6. c. 1. s. 1.  
Heraclea was a colony from Megara.

This arrangement fortunately prevented hostilities threatened between Greeks and Greeks, but did not enable the soldiers without money to profit from the market provided. Though the farms of the Cotyorites therefore were spared, plunder was continued among the Paphlagonian villages. But this was not tamely borne: not only stragglers from the camp were cut off, but nightly alarm was sometimes extended to the camp itself. During the awkward 1. 5. c. 6. s. 3. leisure, while the transports were waited for, inquiry was made about the way by land through Paphlagonia: but reports were far from encouraging to attempt the march. Westward of Heraclea a very lofty range of mountains, extending far inland, ends in precipices against the sea. One only practicable road, through most hazardous defiles, traversed this range. Spacious plains followed, but intersected by four large rivers, of which the Halys and the Parthenius were not fordable. The country was united under one prince, who, with a hundred thousand men at his orders, his cavalry the best in Asia, had dared refuse obedience to the commands of the great king.

Such being the formidable obstacles to the passage by land, while means for procuring sufficient vessels for the transport by sea were yet doubtful, the successful example of those Greeks who, from small beginnings, had raised flourishing colonies on the Euxine shores, engaged the consideration of Xenophon. What advantages would not be open for such a force as that of the Cy- s. 7, 8.rean army, (for by that name it became now distinguished,) could its united exertions be directed to the establishment

of a colony? Those whom home invited might easily find their passage by sea; the far greater number would probably still desire, indeed their wants would urge them, to join in promising adventure; and could they any other way end so advantageously, or so honourably, an expedition of much glory, but hitherto of little profit, as by extending the Grecian name and dominion in a new colony on the Euxine shore? Xenophon communicated his idea to the Ambracliot Silanus, the principal soothsayer of the army; but he was unfortunate in this communication. Silanus had preserved thus far, through all difficulties, the three thousand darics, presented to him by Cyrus for his fortunate prophecy, previous to their meeting with the king's army in Mesopotamia, and he was beyond all things anxious to get them safe into his own country. A project therefore which tended directly to check the progress of the army toward Greece alarmed him: he communicated it to those who, he thought, would most zealously oppose it; and a very mischievous ferment ensued. The principal movers were the general Timasion, and a Bœotian lochage, named Thorax. The earnest purpose of Timasion, an exile from Dardanum in Troas, was to make the powerful army, in which he had been raised to so high a rank, instrumental to his restoration; and, to engage the general view that way, he proposed the plunder of the rich satrapy of Pharnabazus, of which the fertile region of Troas was only a small part, as the object that should attract attention. Thus, he said, the labours of the expedition would indeed be rewarded, and all go wealthy to their several homes. Thorax had been competitor with Xenophon for the command formerly held by Proxenus, and ever since had been attentive to opportunities for opposing his successful rival, and lessening his credit with the army. Timasion and Thorax thence were sedulous in exciting alarm among the Heracleots and Sinopians, readily



jealous of a new establishment in their neighbourhood, so powerful as the Cyrean army might have made. Having assured themselves, as they thought, of support from those people, they made promises to the army which they found themselves unable to perform. Then becoming apprehensive of the army's indignation, they solicited accommodation with Xenophon, and themselves put forward a project for a settlement on the river Phasis in Colchis, at the eastern end of the Euxine, the scene of the celebrated fabulous adventure of the golden fleece. This again excited the jealousy of Neon, who commanded for Chirisophus in his absence; and thus shortly the whole army became divided in views, and filled with most inconvenient jealousies.

In his account of this business it has been clearly the purpose of Xenophon to apologise for himself. Circumstances apparently would not allow him to speak the whole truth; but the project of colonisation, evidently enough, was not popular in the army. The soldiers desired to become rich by a more compendious method than tilling an uncultivated country among barbarians; and, while their generals disagreed among themselves, they grew careless of their generals, and held their own assemblies to consider of putting forward their own projects.

Xenophon then took upon himself to call the army together. He explained his conduct and intentions so as, according to his own report, to give general satisfaction. Encouraged then by finding himself so far successful, he proceeded to urge to consideration the dangers and the disgraces already incurred through deficiency of subordination. He related the transactions on their quitting Cerasus, the particulars of which were not generally known; and he called their attention to the portentous pollutions there incurred and hazarded. "Greeks, their fellow-soldiers," he observed, "attempting a most unjustifiable outrage, had

met a just fate. Barbarians, not only connected with them by friendly intercourse, but vested with the sacred character of heralds, had been wickedly murdered. That the corpses of their fellow-soldiers were at length obtained for burial they owed to the moderation of the barbarians, together with their respect for religion, and to the kind interference of the injured Cerasuntines. Were enormities like these permitted, instead of returning glorious to Greece, amid the applauses and caresses of their fellow-countrymen, if indeed their misconduct did not first bring destruction on them, they would be avoided, repelled, and detested, wherever they went or were heard of."

Moved by this strong remonstrance, the army resolved, That all the late transactions should be taken into consideration, and that a better order of things should be enforced by the punishment of past irregularity. The lochages, as the intermediate order between the generals and the soldiers, were reckoned fittest to decide on the conduct of both, and the whole body of them was constituted a court-martial. After accusations against inferiors had been judged, the generals themselves were called to account. Sophænetus, Philesius, and Xanthicles had been, by a vote of the army, appointed commissioners for the care of the cargoes of the merchant-ships pressed at Trapezus, and goods had been missing. Sophænetus, for having refused the office, was fined ten mines, about thirty-five pounds; Philesius and Xanthicles, who had undertaken it, were fined twenty mines, about seventy pounds, each, the estimated value of the missing goods.<sup>28</sup> Accusation was then brought

<sup>28</sup> This I think the sense of the passage, which has however some difficulty. The editors have indeed supposed an omission in transcription. But it does not appear to me that Xenophon has, like his translators, Latin and English, imputed peculation to Philesius and Xanthicles. He merely says that they were fined to the amount of the deficiency, without declaring whether that deficiency was occasioned by their dishonesty, their negligence, or their ina-

against Xenophon, for acting with injurious haughtiness in command, and particularly for beating some soldiers. He acknowledged striking several for disorderly conduct; quitting their ranks, to run forward for plunder; endangering themselves and the whole army, by yielding to the impression of fatigue and cold while the enemy was pressing on the rear. But he insisted that he had punished none excepting when the good of all, and even their own good, required: he had given blows of the fist (for that is his expression) to save them from strokes of the enemy's weapons<sup>29</sup>; and those who were now so forward to complain, he was confident, would be mostly found such as Boiscus, the Thes-salian boxer; who had been clamorous, on pretence of sickness, to have his shield carried for him, and now, unless report grossly belied him, had been waylaying and robbing many of the Cotyorites. If he had himself ever offended any of better character, they, he trusted, would recollect if any were indebted to him for benefits; if he had ever relieved any in cold, in want, in sickness, and in perils from the enemy; if, while he punished the disorderly, he was always ready, to the utmost of his power, to honour and reward the deserving. It sufficed to mention these things, and Xenophon was honourably acquitted.

Such detached and incidental information only, which, when collected, will give no system, is all that remains whence to gather an idea of Greek military law. In an army so formed as the Cyrean we may suppose the system less perfect than under the government of Lacedæmon, or even of Athens. But in Xenophon's account of this expedition we may perhaps more than elsewhere discover the general spirit of the

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bility. Indeed it would be a strange award to punish the man who had merely avoided an office, and not to punish those who had been guilty of peculation in an office; for if they were fined only to the amount of goods they had fraudulently taken, they were not punished.

<sup>29</sup> "Ἐπαισα πύξ, ἕπως μὴ λόγχῃ ὑπὸ πολεμίων παίοιτο.

military system of the age. What we find principally striking is, that it was at the same time arbitrary and lax. We wonder to find those who, in civil government, were zealots for liberty, even to licentiousness, submit so readily, in military, to an undefined command. At the same time we may wonder, in a command so liable to interruption and control from an undefined right of resistance to injury, to find regularity and subordination nevertheless generally existing. Two motives however we may observe, comparatively little felt in modern European armies, powerfully and almost constantly operating upon the Greek; the hope of profit from the plunder of the enemy, and the fear of suffering from the enemy's revenge. Almost unceasing wars, within a narrow country, taught every Greek the value of military discipline. Alone he felt himself weak; in a phalanx he felt himself powerful: being weak, his lot would be death or slavery from the enemy; being strong, all the enemy's possessions would, in share, be his; a price even for the enemy's person, sold to slavery, would reward him for his submission to discipline. Discipline, in short, was preserved among the Greeks (the comparison appears degrading, but it is apposite) as among the smugglers with us; by a strong sense of a common interest in it. Strong acts of arbitrary power then are congenial and necessary to every simple government, whether monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy. Being therefore familiar to the Greeks in civil administration, they were easily borne in military.

Anab. 1. 5.  
c. 5. s. 5.  
1. 6. c. 1.  
s. 8, 9.

The army waited forty-five days at Cotyora for a sufficient number of vessels to take their whole number, and then proceeded for Sinope, a flourishing Grecian town, very advantageously situated on the Paphlagonian coast; the mother-city of Cotyora, Cerasus, and Trapezus, which it held in dependency; itself a colony from Miletus. We cannot here but pay a tribute of admiration

to the bold and successful adventure of a few Greeks who, wandering thus far from the soft climate of Ionia, could wrest, from one of the most powerful vassals of the Persian empire, a seaport and territory in the middle of his coast, and thence extend the Grecian name, in various settlements on barbarian shores, to such a distance. Arriving at Armene, one of the ports of Sinope, the army had the satisfaction to find Chirisophus, with some triremes, on his way to meet them. On landing they were greeted with a present of meal and wine from the Sinopians ; much for that people to give, but far below their wants. They had hoped to have these more amply provided for by Chirisophus ; but he brought them, from Anaxibius the Lacedæmonian admiral, only approbation and applause, with a promise that, as soon as they reached the shore of the Propontis, they should be taken into pay.

Hitherto to return home in safety had been the great object. Now, with a nearer view of its accomplishment, they began with more anxiety to consider how they should live at home ; or how, before they yet returned, they might acquire means to live there in some credit and ease. Plunder was the mode which the principles and circumstances of the age so recommended, that they thought they should be wanting to themselves if, before they separated, they did not use their united strength for the purpose. Where it should be exerted remained to be determined ; and they began to consider that nothing was more necessary to success than unity of command. For a commander-in-chief then the general view was directed to Xenophon : many officers conferred with him in private ; and, though he declared his resolution to avoid the invidious honour, yet, when the army assembled to decide on the subject, he was proposed, and the nomination supported by a very large majority. He nevertheless persisted in refusing

Anab. 1. 6.  
c. 1. s. 11.

what, he confesses, very much allured his ambition. The state of Greece, and the umbrage that would be taken by the Lacedæmonian government, deterred him; but the army would not be satisfied with such an excuse; and he was obliged to recur to his common resource, the superstition

Anab. 1. 6.  
c. 1. s. 21.

of the age. Confirming his asseveration with an oath, by all the gods and goddesses, he said he had consulted the deity in sacrifices, whether it would be better for the army and himself that the command-in-chief should be conferred upon him; and the divine will was declared in the negative, in so clear a manner that the most inexperienced in augury could not mistake it.

s. 22.

Unable to resist such an argument, the army then elected Chirisophus; who appears to have been not of shining talents, but a prudent and worthy man. He declared that, had their choice fallen on another, he should have submitted. On the acceptance of Xenophon's refusal nevertheless he congratulated both them and Xenophon; whose appointment, he said, could scarcely have been otherwise than unfortunate, on account of the ill offices done him with the admiral Anaxibius, by the unprincipled Dexippus, who had deserted with the penteconter from Trapezus. He then freely acknowledged that he had found his own interest with Anaxibius not such as he had hoped. His best exertions however should not be wanting to serve them in the honourable situation in which they had placed him; and he meant to sail the next day for Heraclea. Ac-

c. 1. s. 11.  
c. 2. s. 1, 2.

cordingly, after a stay of only five days at Sinope, they embarked, and on the morrow reached Heraclea, a colony from Megara, flourishing in population and commerce. They were greeted, as at Sinope, with a present, the pledge of hospitality, from the Heracleots; and a present liberal and even magnificent for a state like theirs, a single city. It consisted of meal equal to that given by

the Sinopians, a larger quantity of wine, and the valuable addition of twenty oxen and a hundred sheep.

It seems to have been the purpose of Chirisophus to check the project of robbery and plunder which had been cherished, and to conduct the army quietly to Byzantium, where he expected it would be immediately taken into Lacedæmonian pay. This however was not generally satisfactory; and some licentious spirits, foreseeing opposition to their views against the property of barbarians, and encouraged by a degree of contempt, which seems to have been general, for the abilities of Chirisophus, began to conceive more criminal designs. More than half the army were Arcadians or Achæans; and the generals, who had the particular command of those troops, not superior

Anab. 1. 6.  
c. 2. s. 6.

in abilities to Chirisophus, were far inferior in estimation, as their cities were in political consequence inferior to his. Hence opportunity occurred for some worthless officers, by indulging licence, and flattering with promises, to gain a leading influence among the troops. All were assembled to deliberate whether to proceed by land or sea; a measure indicating that either the authority committed to the commander-in-chief was very defective, or he doubted himself, and wanted talent for command. Lycon, an Achæan lochage, rose and said, "It was matter of wonder to him, that the generals did not think of measures for providing subsistence: what had been just received as a present would not last three days: in his opinion demand should be made upon the Heracleots for not less than three thousand Cyzicenes." The Cyzicene was a gold coin named from the Greek city of Cyzicus on the Propontis, in value about a guinea. This extortion seemed over-modest to others, who were for requiring a month's pay, not less than ten thousand Cyzicenes. Presently it was voted that commissioners should be appointed to go into the

s. 3.

s. 4.

city, and Chirisophus and Xenophon were named. Military authority seems to have ceased; the commander-in-chief could merely excuse himself from obeying the orders of the army, become a popular assembly; and Xenophon interfered no farther than to join with Chirisophus in a kind of protest, that no violence ought to be put upon a friendly

Anab. l. 6.  
c. 2. s. 5.

Grecian city. Regardless of this protest, the troops appointed the Achæan Lycon, with two Arcadian officers, Callimachus and Agasias, to go as their deputies to the Heracleots. Lycon, according to report, was not sparing of threats to enforce the insolent demand. The Heracleots, with prudent calmness, answered, that they would consult upon it. The leisure, thus gained, they employed in bringing in their effects from the country, and they shut their gates and manned their walls.

s. 6. 10.

The mutineer officers, disappointed by these measures, accused the generals of having caused the miscarriage, and persuaded the Arcadians and Achæans, to the number of four thousand five hundred, all heavy-armed, to separate themselves from the rest of the army. Electing then ten commanders, they negotiated with the Heracleots for transports to convey them forward: and

c. 2. s. 11.  
c. 3. s. 1.

anxiety for riddance of such inmates promoting the business, they were quickly supplied. In all haste then they sailed, eager to be foremost in plundering the Bithynian Thracians.

c. 2. s. 7.

Thus ended the command of Chirisophus, about the seventh day from his elevation. Vessels to carry the remainder of the army being evidently not to be procured, Xenophon offered to march, still under the Lacedæmonian general, to the Propontis. But Chirisophus, disgusted at what had happened, depressed, apparently, by sickness, and persuaded by some of his officers, who desired the exclusive advantage of vessels

s. 8-11.



expected from Byzantium, declined the offer: he would take charge only of the small body particularly attached to him, consisting of about fourteen hundred Grecian heavy-armed, and the Thracian targeteers who had served under Clearchus, in number about seven hundred. There remained with Xenophon about seventeen hundred heavy-armed, three hundred targeteers, and forty horse, being the whole cavalry of the army.

Anab. l. 6.  
c. 2. s. 10. ]

No Grecian town, no friendly people, was to be found between Heraclea and the Bosphorus; a distance in a right line of more than a hundred miles <sup>30</sup>, occupied by the Bithynians, a Thracian horde, the most inimical to the Greeks, and the most skilled in war of any barbarians of that continent. Chirisophus proceeded along the coast to an unoccupied harbour, about midway, called Port-Calpe; thinking there to meet the expected vessels. No occurrence disturbed the march; but, presently after his arrival, a fever ended the general's days. <sup>31</sup>

c. 4. s. 1.

c. 3. s. 7.  
c. 4. s. 8.

Xenophon took a more inland road; hoping by brisk progress, directly to Chalcedon, to arrive before the Bithynians could assemble in any great numbers to oppose him. But this hope was rendered vain by the diligence of the Arcadians in the execution of their project for marauding. Having landed by night at Port-Calpe, they had proceeded immediately inland; and, dividing at day-break, to fall at once upon several villages, they succeeded in

c. 3. s. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Τριήρους μὲν ἔστιν εἰς Ἡράκλειαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου κώπαις ἡμέρας μάλα μακρᾶς πλοῦς. This we should suppose could not be one hundred miles. Yet Arrian, in his Periplus, calls the distance one thousand six hundred and seventy stadia, which, at eight stadia to the mile, is more than two hundred miles; but probably Arrian reckoned the winding of the coast, which might be more than double the direct distance.

<sup>31</sup> According to Spelman, it was a medicine that killed Chirisophus; but I think the expression of Xenophon may be interpreted more favourably for the physician; and so Leunclavius, by his Latin version, appears to have thought.

their purpose of surprise : numbers of cattle were taken, and many slaves. Whether these were the slaves or the children of the Bithynians the historian has not specified, but they were probably both ; for abundant testimony concerning the manners of the Greeks gives to suppose that, upon such an occasion, free and bondmen, any that would fetch a price in the slave-market, would be equally taken. Such being the ordinary Grecian practice, we shall little wonder if the Bithynians earned the character, which report gained them, of singular cruelty to any Greeks who, by shipwreck or other accident, fell into their hands.

Ch. 18. s. 4.  
of this Hist.

Anab. l. 6.  
c. 4. s. 1.

A hill had been agreed upon by the Arcadians where to re-assemble. But the Bithynians meanwhile collecting in force, pressed them so that while some joined with their booty, and some without, one party was entirely cut off, and of another only eight men escaped. The encouragement of success co-operating powerfully with the stimulation of resentment, the numbers of the Bithynians increased rapidly ; and the Arcadians, passing the night on the hill, found themselves in the morning surrounded and besieged. The Bithynian cavalry were numerous, the infantry all targeteers ; while the Arcadians, all heavy-armed, open to annoyance from missile weapons, could not return a wound ; and shortly they were excluded from their watering-place. Totally at a loss for measures, they proposed a treaty, and terms were agreed upon ; but the Bithynians refusing to give hostages, the Arcadians feared to trust them, and, in extreme anxiety, they passed a second night on the hill.

s. 7.

Xenophon meanwhile, pressing the march of his heavy-armed, employed his small body of cavalry in ranging the country, to collect intelligence and obviate surprise ; and thus he obtained information of what had

befallen the Arcadians. It was highly desirable, not only to relieve them, for the sake of many valuable officers and deserving soldiers, led unavoidably as the multitude had inclined, but to form a junction with them for the security of the farther march, which the alarm given to the country would make otherwise highly dangerous. In the deficiency of his force therefore Xenophon had recourse to stratagem. He directed his targeteers and horse, spreading from the heavy-armed, to set fire to every thing combustible that fell in their way. Choosing his ground for the night on an eminence, whence the enemy's camp-fires were visible at the distance of about five miles, he caused numerous fires to be lighted, to give the appearance of extent to his camp, and, early in the night, all to be suddenly extinguished. Thus he hoped to encourage the Arcadians and alarm the Bithynians. At daybreak he marched, proposing, by a sudden assault, to pierce the Bithynian line and join the Arcadians, who would co-operate on the other side. His stratagem took effect beyond his expectation: the Bithynians, fearful of nightly attack, withdrew silently. The Arcadians, finding themselves, with the dawn, at complete liberty, marched for Port-Calpe; and when Xenophon's horse arrived at the hill, some old men and women only were remaining, with a few sheep and oxen, part of the booty taken, which, in the haste of the troops to move, had been neglected. Xenophon followed to Port-Calpe. There, with the Arcadians, he found the forces which had marched under Chirisophus; but that general was already dead.

Resting the next day, Xenophon prepared on the morrow<sup>52</sup>, with the accustomed ceremony

c. 4. s. 6.

<sup>52</sup> Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέξα ἐγένετο τῆς εἰς ταῦτ' ἀνόδου. — Something seems wanting here; but the meaning is sufficiently decided by the expression, soon following, ἥδη γὰρ ἦσαν πεμπταῖοι, whence it appears that Leunclavius has translated well, and Spelman ill. The day next after the battle, in the Greek mode of expression, the *second day*, the Arcadians passed on the hill, the third they

of sacrifice, for an inroad into the country to collect provisions: and he trusted that the alarm, which he had excited among the Bithynians, would not yet be subsided so far but that he might have leisure for burying the Arcadian slain. The symptoms of the victims being declared favourable, the Arcadians went out, under cover of his march, and themselves buried their dead; and in the evening all returned together to the camp. Misfortune and disgrace had now sufficiently excited disgust among the Arcadians toward those who had persuaded the secession, and prepared them for sober counsel.

Anab. 1. 6.  
c. 4. s. 7, 8.

The older and more respectable of their officers therefore, Agasias of Stymphalus, Hieronymus of Elis, and some others, calling a meeting of the whole army, it was resolved that the former order of united strength, under the former generals, should be restored, and that in future it should be death to propose a division of the army.

But though union and subordination were thus renewed, some very inconvenient jealousies and suspicions remained

among the soldiers. It was imagined that the generals, especially Xenophon, bent upon founding a colony, were desirous of delaying and impeding the return to Greece. The coast, from Heraclea to the Bosphorus, was yet wholly unoccupied by Greeks. Port-Calpe lay nearly midway. There a peninsular rock, with precipitous sides, containing room for the habitation of ten thousand men, commanding a plentiful fountain and a commodious harbour, was connected, by a narrow neck, with a great extent of fruitful country, abounding with well-inhabited villages, and bearing, even on the water's edge, a profusion of excellent ship-timber. The combination of advantages for a military and commercial settlement was uncommon. But the greater

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marched to Port-Calpe, the fourth they rested, and the fifth buried the slain. [The deficiency observed by Mr. Mitford has been supplied by Zeune on the authority of two MSS. He reads *ὑστεραία ἡμέρα*.]

part of the soldiers having families or friends in Greece, whom they had left, not through want at home, but some urged by a disposition for adventure, others allured by the fame of advantages gained in the service of Cyrus, were now beyond all things anxious to return. The real difficulties however still opposing were not small. Could vessels have been procured, the passage to Byzantium was easy; but so much was not hoped for. Meanwhile they were without provisions; and to prevent them from collecting any from the country, and to check their march through it, the fierce and active Bithynians had been now joined by the well-appointed cavalry of the satrap Pharnabazus. Under these circumstances the generals desired to place the incumbrances of the army in the peninsular rock of Calpe, where a small guard would secure them, while the most active of the troops might seek necessities for all. But the obvious advantages of the port and the adjoining territory, strengthening the suspicion entertained that the generals wanted to entrap them there, command and persuasion were equally ineffectual to induce the soldiers to pass the neck.<sup>33</sup>

Under these difficulties, Xenophon recurred to his usual resource, the power of superstition over Grecian minds. We are equally with him, as with his master Socrates, at a loss to know what to think of their belief; but, notwithstanding the seriousness with which Xenophon continually speaks of his confidence in augury, and the pains he has taken frequently, and especially upon the present occasion, to justify his conduct under the declared will of the gods, his own account nevertheless appears clearly to indicate policy in all his measures. This at least seems certain, that no confidence in any symptom of the victims ever induced him to neglect any

<sup>33</sup> Spelman has satisfied himself here with translating unintelligibly what, in the original, seems indeed not by itself very clear, but yet sufficiently explained in the sequel.

part of the duty of a general. Calling the army together, he pointed out the impossibility of proceeding by sea, the difficulties and dangers of the march by land, and the absolute necessity of moving, which their pressing wants occasioned; and he concluded with proposing sacrifice, to learn whether

Anab. 1. 6.  
c. 4. s. 10.

the gods would favour their march. The Ambraciot Silanus having deserted the army at Heraclæa to pass, with his three thousand darics, by sea to Greece, the Arcadian Arexion, his successor in the dignity of chief prophet, presided at the sacred ceremony. He declared all the symptoms unfavourable, and the march was stopped for the day. Among the soldiers, hungry and dissatisfied, some, as Xenophon has candidly avowed, did not scruple to say that the prophet's declaration had been influenced by Xenophon.

s. 11.

Informed of this, Xenophon caused proclamation to be made that sacrifice should be again offered on the morrow, when all prophets, if any were in the army, should attend, and any soldiers might be spectators. Many came; sacrifice was thrice repeated, and the symptoms

s. 12.

always unfavourable. The disappointment was in some degree relieved by a report, said to have been communicated by a merchant-ship passing along the coast, that Cleander, harmost of Byzantium, was coming, with triremes and transports. It was then more cheerfully

s. 15.

resolved to wait the day; but still it was urged that sacrifice should be offered, to know if the gods would approve an inroad to collect provisions. Sacrifice, thrice again repeated, forbade this equally as the march. The soldiers thronged about Xenophon's tent, complaining of want of food; but he persisted in declaring he would undertake nothing with unfavourable omens.

s. 14.

On the next day sacrifice was again offered; the anxious soldiers crowded around, and the

victims still forbade. The generals then agreed that the march was not to be undertaken. Assembling then the army, Xenophon spoke for them: "Probably," he said, "the enemy were now collected in force, and for whatever purpose they moved it might be necessary to fight: if therefore the baggage were deposited in the strong post in the peninsula, and the march were managed in just preparation for action, possibly the victims might favour the measure." Here seems to appear some explanation of the mystery of Xenophon's conduct. At least his expression amounts to a declaration, afterward explicitly made<sup>34</sup>, that he thought the gods commonly favoured human prudence, and would not give the reward of wisdom and just precaution to folly and rashness, or of diligence and vigour to remissness and sloth. Pressed however as the soldiers were by hunger, their jealousy of the purpose of the generals prevailed; they exclaimed against moving into the peninsula, and called for immediate sacrifice. Draught-oxen, alone to be found for victims, were immolated, but still the symptoms were adverse.

Anab. 1. 6.  
c. 4. s. 15.

The want of food now became severe. Neon, an Asinæan, (not a Lacedæmonian, but of those subjects of Lacedæmon who were included under the more comprehensive name of Laconians,) had been raised to the rank of general in the room of Chirisophus. Desirous of gratify-  
ing his new command, he offered to lead any who would put themselves under him, notwithstanding any foreboding in the sacrifices, to plunder some villages to which an Hera-  
cleot, following the army, undertook to conduct. About two thousand turned out, with sacks, leathern bottles, and javelins. While dispersed among the villages for plunder, they were attacked by a body of the satrap's cavalry: full

s. 16, 17.

<sup>34</sup> See forward, p. 239. ; and Xen. Anab. 1. 6. c. 4. s. 2. 6. and 12.

five hundred were killed; a few reached the camp; the rest, assembling on a hill, defended themselves, but dared not move. In the whole expedition so great a loss had not been suffered from an enemy.

Anab. l. 6.  
c. 4. s. 18—20.

On the first intelligence of the event Xenophon assembled the army, and having sacrificed a draught-ox (it is to be presumed the symptoms were favourable, though he has omitted to say it), he marched with all under thirty years of age, and brought off the distressed party. The Bithynians however followed, occupied the thickets about the camp, and after dusk suddenly attacking the outguards, killed some, and drove the rest within the line. Great alarm ensued through the army; and though, by a proper disposition, immediate danger was soon obviated, no small despondency remained.

Thus at length the minds of the soldiers were sufficiently tamed, to obey the orders or take the advice of their generals. Next morning they submitted to be conducted into the peninsula, and an entrenchment, strengthened with a palisade, was made across the neck. Fortunately,  
c. 5. s. 1. on the same day, a vessel arrived from Heraclea with corn, wine, and live cattle, or, in the historian's phrase, victims.<sup>35</sup>

Early on the morrow Xenophon rose to sacrifice, and not only the prognostics, from the very first victim, were favourable, but, as the ceremony drew to a conclusion, the prophet Arexion saw an eagle, portending good fortune. Immediately he exhorted Xenophon to march. The slaves, camp-followers, and baggage were left in the peninsula, with a guard, under the command of Neon, composed of all the soldiers who had exceeded their forty-fifth year: all the rest marched under Xenophon.



They had not proceeded two miles when they fell in with some scattered bodies of those slain in the last excursion. It was their first care to bury these as they advanced. Arriving about mid-day near the villages, they collected some necessaries, but avoided dispersing for plunder; and suddenly the enemy appeared in large force, upon some hills, not two miles off, Persian horse and Bithynian foot, checking their march upon discovering the Greeks, and forming in order of battle. Arexion immediately sacrificed, and the very first victim was favourable. Xenophon, knowing the temper of the enemy, thought it important immediately to march against them. While he was directing the reserve, the head of the column halted at a deep glen<sup>36</sup>, crossing the way. The generals hesitated to pass it, with the enemy so near; and the Arcadian Sophænetus, oldest of those present, gave his opinion decidedly against the risk. Xenophon however, confident that it was safer to attack such an enemy, cavalry and targeteers, than to retreat before them, insisted upon going forward: "the victims had been all favourable," he said, "the omens all happy;" and this argument enabled him to prevail.

Anab. l. 6.  
c. 5. s. 4.

s. 5.

s. 6.

s. 7, 8.

s. 9—13.

s. 16.

Having passed the glen unmolested, apprehension changed into over-hardiness, and the targeteers ran forward, without orders. The Persian horse, with the crowd of Bithynian foot, met them with advantage

<sup>36</sup> Νάπος. I do not hesitate to thank Spelman for his explanation of this word, for which Strabo affords clear authority in his ninth book.—Περίκειται δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἡ Κίρις, &c. τ. λ. p. 640. vel 418. The Latin translators, satisfied with the word *saltus*, at least risk to mislead their readers. Xenophon has certainly meant to describe a valley, or glen; what in the provincial speech of the south of England is called a Bottom, in that of the north a Dene or a Gill; and the action of the horse shows that it was without wood, or very scantily wooded.

Anab. 1. 6. c. 5.  
s. 17—23. of ground; put them to flight, followed toward the heavy-armed phalanx, which was advancing briskly, and approached with an appearance of firmness. But when the trumpet sounded, the pæan was sung, and, with a shout, spears were presented, not waiting the charge, they turned and fled. Timasion, with the small body of Grecian horse, completely dispersed the left wing: but the right, pressed by no troops capable of rapid pursuit, collected again, and the phalanx was obliged to advance twice more to charge. Meanwhile the targeteers rallied, and exerting themselves against those whom the heavy-armed had thrown into confusion, the rout at length became complete; the enemy's horse flying from the Grecian foot, even down the steep sides of the glen, says the historian, as if horse were pursuing them. Raising their trophy then the Greeks returned, and about sunset reached their camp.

c. 6. s. 1—3. The advantage of Xenophon's policy became quickly manifest. An army of Persians and Bithynians differed widely from itself, encouraged by success or dejected by defeat. Directing their care to remove their property out of reach of those against whom they now despaired of defending it, they gave no more disturbance to the Greeks. Their families and more portable effects were carried up the country. Apparently the slaves employed in tillage, as well as the produce of tillage, were left; for parties, sent daily from the Grecian army, brought in corn, wine, pulse, and figs. The historian has not specified that this booty was, in any part, contribution by compact, obviating the destruction of farms and villages; but such profitable excursions could not be lasting without some moderation and method in plunder. We find however absolute freebooting (perhaps only against the more distant or refractory townships) not only was allowed,  
s. 2. & 15. but regulated by a common vote of the army:

when no military duty interfered, parties might maraud on their private account: when the generals directed an expedition, the booty taken belonged to the common stock.

But the expectation of a profitable trade now brought supplies from the Grecian towns on the coast; a circumstance probably foreseen by Xenophon; so that there was a constant and plentiful market. Thus the army waited patiently for Cleander, who was expected from Byzantium. Meanwhile rumour having circulated of an intention to establish a colony at Port-Calpe, not <sup>Anab. l. 6. c. 6. s. 2, 3.</sup> only the Greek merchants were looking to it for new sources of commerce, but the nearest Bithynian tribes sent a deputation to Xenophon, inquiring upon what terms they might be received into friendship and alliance.

## SECTION VI.

*Return of the Greeks. — Political State of Greece. — Arrival of the Lacedæmonian Governor of Byzantium at Port-Calpe. — Respect for Lacedæmonian Officers. — March of the Army to Chrysopolis. — Arrival in Europe. — Transactions at Byzantium. — Despotism of Lacedæmonian Officers.*

THE expedition of Cyrus and return of the Greeks, thus far, may seem little connected with any great political interest of the Greek nation; and yet, for the pictures which Xenophon's account of it furnishes of the Grecian character, manners, religion, art of war, and military policy, for the information concerning Grecian colonies, maintaining themselves and flourishing, far from the mother-country, insulated among fierce and warlike barbarians, and perhaps yet more for the insight into the character and circumstances of that vast empire which had once nearly involved Greece in its growing vortex, and never ceased to be a formidable and interesting neighbour; they would claim much consider-

ation in Grecian history. But what has preceded is moreover an introduction hardly to be dispensed with for the sequel, where the connection with the deepest interests of Greece becomes intimate.

The Lacedæmonian government being at this time arbiter of the Greek nation, or, according to the phrase of ancient writers, holding the empire of Greece, in the difficult management of that singular kind of imperial dominion no consideration perhaps was more important than that of the relation in which it stood, or might stand, with the Persian empire. Having taken part with Cyrus, first obscurely, but afterward openly, the result of that prince's enterprise must necessarily be looked for with anxiety; and his defeat and death, with the complete overthrow of his cause, and triumph of the royal arms, could not fail to be in a considerable degree alarming. They were alarming as the power of the Persian empire, undistracted by rebellions, was of itself formidable; but they were still more so as views adverse to the peace of Lacedæmon would be opened for that large part of the Greek nation itself which bore the Lacedæmonian supremacy not without extreme reluctance.

Nor would the return of the Cyrean Greek army, or the Ten-thousand, (the former name distinguishing it in its own day, the latter among posterity,) be indifferent to the Lacedæmonian government. Considering how that army was composed, though two Lacedæmonians had successively held the principal authority, yet its approach to states now under the Lacedæmonian dominion, and to Greece itself, with numbers so little diminished, and fame for its achievements great and singular, and views and disposition wholly unknown, would require some watching, as even an indispensable duty of a government looked to for the general protection of the nation. But the Lacedæmonian government, powerful abroad, was, through the contest of parties,

as we have seen in treating of Athenian affairs, distracted and unsteady at home. The expectation of many in the Cyrean army, and especially of the late general Chirisophus, had been that, in consequence of the part taken in the cause of Cyrus, war could not fail between Lacedæmon and Persia; and hence the hope of being taken into the Lacedæmonian service, with the revived prospect of fortune. But this appears to have depended upon the turn of politics at Lacedæmon, and especially upon the decision whether Lysander's party or that of Pausanias should rule there. For though direct information of the domestic politics of that state rarely reaches us, yet the sequel will considerably confirm what preceding matters show probable, that Lysander's party could not persevere in the line taken when the Lacedæmonian government determined to support the rebellion of Cyrus, which was clearly making war with the king; and that, on the contrary, the party of Pausanias, perhaps always opposing that measure, but certainly strengthened by its failure, which would bring discredit on their opponents, proposed to strengthen themselves farther, and possibly also hoped to do their country the best service, by managing reconciliation, first with the western satraps, and then, through them, with the court of Susa itself. In this policy we find an important step had been already gained; for Pharnabazus, who ruled the north-

Anab. I. 7.  
init.

western provinces of Lesser Asia, was among the actual allies of Lacedæmon.

Such, as far as may be gathered, was the state of things when Cleander, harmost of Byzantium, so long looked for, at length arrived at Port-Calpe; but, instead of the expected fleet, brought only two triremes, with not a single transport. Dexippus, the Lacedæmonian, who had deserted with the penteconter borrowed from the Trapezuntines, confident in his favour with Anaxibius and Cleander, and

in the terror of the Lacedæmonian name, was restrained neither by fear nor shame from returning to the army he had so grossly injured; he came in Cleander's train. It happened that, when they landed, a large detachment was absent on an expedition; and some marauders, who thought the opportunity favourable for private plunder, were returning with a large number of sheep, stolen in the neighbourhood.<sup>37</sup> Falling in with Cleander, they feared they should lose their booty; but, knowing the character of Dexippus, they proposed to deliver the whole to him, to

Anab. l. 6.  
c. 6. s. 5.

return them a part at his pleasure. Some other soldiers, accidentally witnesses of the transaction, remonstrating that the sheep were the common property of the army, Dexippus ordered them to disperse. The soldiers disregarding the commands of one so little entitled to respect, Dexippus hastened to Cleander, and telling his story uncontradicted, received an order in consequence of which he arrested a soldier of the lochus of the Arcadian Agasias. The lochage accidentally passing, rescued the man, conceiving the interference of Dexippus to be grossly impertinent. A tumult ensued; the soldiers reviled Dexippus as a deserter and traitor: their passions warmed; they began to throw stones; and Cleander's seamen, and in the end Cleander himself, alarmed, ran toward the shore.

Xenophon and the other generals presently interfering stopped the tumult and apologised for it;

s. 6.

but Cleander, previously instigated by Dexippus, and now vexed at the fear he had shown, threatened to depart im-

<sup>37</sup> Σπράτευμα means here not *the army, exercitus*, simply, as Spelman and the Latin translators have turned it, but *agmen* or *exercitus qui in expeditionem educitur*, as Hederic has justly explained the word. The generals, it appears, were mostly present while the σπράτευμα was out. The ὄρος, mentioned in this passage, seems to be the hill, one end of which formed the peninsula, and the other stretched into the plain country, as described by Xenophon in his account of Port-Calpe, l. 6. c. 4. s. 3.

mediately, to proclaim the army enemies to Lacedæmon, and to send directions that no Grecian city should receive them: nor would he accept any apology less than the delivery of the soldier arrested, and the officer who released him.

To Greeks and freemen, who had been asserting the glory of the Grecian name at a distance before unthought of for Grecian arms, who had been defying the power of the greatest monarch in the world in the very centre of his vast empire, this, from the governor of a little colony of their fellow-countrymen, was a strange greeting, just as they were returning to their country, powerful still, they thought, while they held together, and respectable when they should separate. The generals, aware that the business might be serious, assembled the army. Some made light of Cleander and his threats: Xenophon addressed the assembly thus: "Fellow-soldiers, we are already approaching the Grecian cities, and you know that the Lacedæmonians preside over Greece. Perhaps however you do not enough know that in every Grecian city the will of any Lacedæmonian suffices for any act of authority. Should Cleander then, who commands Byzantium, report us to the other governors as a lawless band, refractory against the authority of Lacedæmon, and, especially, should he find credit with Anaxibius, the commander-in-chief, it would be difficult for us equally to stay here or to go elsewhere. We must therefore necessarily obey those, whatever they command, whom the cities whence we come obey. I therefore (for I understand Dexippus accuses me of persuading and supporting Agasias) will exonerate you from the imputation and its consequences by submitting myself to judgment; and I hold that all others accused ought equally to surrender themselves; that so you, justly expecting to receive credit and honour in your country, may

Anab. 1. 6.  
c. 6. s. 9.

not, on your return to it, be deprived of the common rights of Grecian citizens.”

Anab. I. 6.  
c. 6. s. 10, 11. Agasias, always attached to Xenophon, warmly exculpated him, and declared his readiness to surrender himself. He requested only that some officers might be appointed to assist in his justification; and the choice

s. 12. being allowed him, he desired the generals. Accordingly these, with Agasias, and the man rescued by Agasias, going to Cleander, declared they came in pursuance of a common vote of the army to offer themselves, and all that army, or any member of it, to be judged by him, and disposed of at his discretion.<sup>38</sup> This appears a complete acknowledgment of despotic authority over the Greek nation, not in one sovereign, but in every Spartan in office. Agasias then presented himself as the person who had rescued the

s. 13—15. soldier, alleging his knowledge of the soldier's merit and of Dexippus's treachery, and declaring that he had no thought of resisting Cleander, or any whom he knew to act under his authority. Cleander however required that Agasias and the soldier should be left in custody; and, dismissing the generals, told them he should desire their attendance at the trial.

s. 16. Xenophon, again assembling the army, recommended that a deputation, in the name of all, should request from Cleander the liberation of the prisoners. It was accordingly voted that the generals and lochages, with Dracontius a Spartan, and a few others selected for the occasion, should wait upon him. That formidable army, which had made the Persian monarch tremble on his throne, and traversed his empire in defiance of his force, then threw itself, by the voice of its favourite general, in these humble terms, on the mercy of a Lacedæmonian governor of a town

<sup>38</sup> These are strong terms, but they are faithful to the original of Xenophon, *κρίναντα σεαυτὸν χρεῖσθαι ὅ τι ἂν βούληται*.



in Thrace ; out of his government, and supported, on the spot, by no greater force than the crews of two small ships :

“ The accused,” said Xenophon, addressing Cleander, “ are in your power ; and the army submits them and itself to your discretion. Nevertheless it is the desire and prayer of all that they be not put to death, but restored to the army, with which their former merits have been great. Should this favour be obtained, the army promises, if you will take the command, to show itself orderly and obedient, and able, the gods willing, to defy any enemy. It is indeed their earnest wish to serve under your immediate orders ; that you may know, from experience, the comparative merits of Dexippus and all others, and reward every man according to his desert.”

Anab. 1. 6.  
c. 6. s. 17.

Such submission (such servility it might perhaps on some occasions be called) at length satisfied Cleander. Wonder is apt to arise at testimonies like this concerning what, in ancient and modern times, has been so much eulogised as Grecian liberty. But, however later authors may have extolled Greece as the favourite land of freedom, in the assertion and in the enjoyment of which it afforded example for all the world, yet we find the portrait there exhibited harmonising with every account remaining from the incomparable writers who lived in the republican times ; all show that the spirit of independency indeed ran high in Greece, and often produced actions most worthy of admiration ; but that substantial freedom was little found there. And if, from what actually was, we turn to the observations and schemes of the ablest speculative men of the same ages, we find Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle unable to propose how Greece should be free. This then may be Xenophon’s apology for the politics recommended in that work, so admired by the ancients, his *Cyropædia*. Fortunately for us,

we derive from our forefathers incomparably better principles, with fair and glorious example of better practice.

Cleander, feeling enough his importance as a Lacedæmonian in office, had however liberality as well as talents.

Anab. 1. 6.  
c. 6. s. 18.

“The conduct of the army,” he said, “sufficiently confuted the report of its disaffection to Lace-

dæmon. The accused should be immediately restored, and he would not refuse the honourable office, offered him, of leading it to Greece.” Immediately he entered

s. 19, 20.

into a connection of hospitality and friendship with Xenophon; but the sacrifices being, for three successive days, unpropitious, he assembled the generals, remitted the command into their hands, and, promising the army the best reception in his power on its arrival at Byzantium, after mutual compliments paid, he departed by sea.

s. 21

s. 22.

The army then, marching under the former generals, traversed Bithynia unmolested; but, finding no plunder in the direct way, turned and collected large booty of slaves and cattle. On the sixth day they arrived at Chrysopolis on the Bosphorus, over-against Byzantium, where they were so among Grecian colonies that they might reckon themselves almost arrived in Greece.

The apprehension excited by the Cyrean army, emerging from barbarous countries, and approaching the western shore of Asia, was in some degree common to Greeks and Persians; and indeed the conduct of that army had afforded to both but too much ground. Pharnabazus especially was alarmed. Bithynia, one of the wilder provinces of his satrapy, having been already plundered, and his cavalry, assisting the people to protect their property, repeatedly fought and defeated, it was feared that the richer parts of his

1. 7. c. 1.  
s. 2, 3.

country might invite its next enterprise. As an ally of Lacedæmon therefore he applied to

Anaxibius, the Lacedæmonian commander-in-chief, pressing earnestly for the removal of the Cyreans out of Asia. It seems probable that to these circumstances we should look for the considerations which determined Cleander to avoid the command after he had undertaken it, and leave the army to its own ways for the march to the Bosphorus; and it may perhaps be suspected that the indications in the sacrifices were but artificial auxiliaries to his purpose. Apparently not averse to the politics of Lysander, he would perhaps gladly have commanded such an army as the Cyrean for war against Persia. To conciliate therefore, rather than offend it, would be his purpose; and he might be willing that it should commit the hostilities, possibly projected before he left it, which would provoke war, provided he incurred no blame.

But connection with the opposite party in Lacedæmon is rather indicated in the conduct of Anaxibius; though with principles so loose that, where private gain was in view, party interests held no competition with it. In the moment he seems to have reckoned that, to make the most of his high command during the short remainder of its term, he should gratify the satrap. Accordingly, sending for the generals and lochages of the Cyrean army to Byzantium, he proposed its immediate passage to the European shore; offering pay for the whole, to commence on its arrival. This having been, now for some time, the object of the best hope for the greater part, was acceded to with general joy. Xenophon had declared his purpose to sail immediately for Athens; but at the request of Anaxibius he held his command for the passage to Byzantium. There at length, finding themselves once more on European ground, and supposing themselves established in the service of the republic that commanded Greece, they felicitated themselves as if all difficulties were ended and they were already at home.

Anab. i. 7.  
c. 1. s. 5.

No pay however had yet been issued when they were surprised with an order to assemble, out of the town, with arms and baggage, as for a march. Under much uneasiness, anxiety, and discontent this order was slowly obeyed.

Anab. l. 7.  
c. 1. s. 8, 9.

Nearly all however were assembled when Anaxibius came, and, calling together the generals and lochages, directed them "to proceed to the Chersonese, where Cyniscus," he said, "the Lacedæmonian governor, would receive them into pay; and provisions for the way they might take from the Thracian villages." The generals, surprised, yet obedient, began making the necessary inquiries concerning the roads, and the state of the country to be passed. Meanwhile intelligence of the purpose getting among the soldiers, set them instantly in fury.

s. 10.

Snatching their arms, some ran back toward the gate, and, upon its being shut against them, with vehement complaints of ill treatment, threatened to force it; others, running to the shore, found an easy passage over the mole into the town, where some of their comrades were yet loitering. Joined by these they forced the gate, and the whole army rushed in.

The utmost alarm and terror pervaded Byzantium. The agora was instantly deserted. Some of the inhabitants barricaded themselves in their houses, some fled aboard the ships; all apprehended the rapine and carnage usual in a place taken by storm. Anaxibius himself, running to the shore, passed in a fishing-boat to the citadel, and sent in haste to Chalcedon for a re-enforcement to the small garrison.

The Cyrean generals themselves feared that, in the circumstances which the dishonest and weak policy of the Spartan commander-in-chief had superinduced, they should hardly be able to restrain the army from outrage. Xe-

s. 12.

nophon, who had still attended at the particular request of Anaxibius, when he saw the gate

forced, fearing for the town, for the army, and for his own character and safety, had pressed in with the soldiers. Quickly he engaged their attention. Crowding Anab. l. 7. c. 1. s. 14, 15. about him they said, "Now, Xenophon, is the time to raise yourself and serve us: the army is at your devotion, and the city, and the fleet in the harbour, and all that both contain, are your own." "Right," said Xenophon, "but the first thing necessary is order among you. Form, as quickly as possible." That called the Thracian square, where they happened to be, having space enough, he was instantly obeyed; the heavy-armed formed in column, fifty deep; the targeteers ran to the flanks. Having thus checked thoughtless violence in the outset, Xenophon, in a soothing speech, represented to the s. 16—20. army "the iniquity and dishonour of injuring the Byzantines, who had never injured them, and the impossibility of resisting the power of Lacedæmon, which had subdued Athens, and now commanded Greece;" and in conclusion he recommended, "that a deputation be sent to Anaxibius, to assure him that they had returned into the town with no purpose of outrage, but certainly with the wish to obtain from him that assistance which he had promised: that should he still refuse it they were ready to march away at his order; but they were desirous of demonstrating that their obedience was willing, and that to beguile them was unnecessary." The army was persuaded, and c. 21. the deputation was sent.

The circumstances, both of Greece and of the surrounding countries, offered numerous opportunities for adventurers, especially for military adventurers. There happened to be in Byzantium a Theban, named Cyratades, who professed the business of a general, ready to serve anywhere in the command of troops, for Greek cities or other nations. While the army was waiting this man came and proposed himself

for their leader, undertaking to conduct them to profitable enterprise in Thrace, and, in the interval, to provide them subsistence from his private means. The mention at the same time of pay and plunder had excited attention, when the officers who were sent into the citadel returned with a message from Anaxibius, assuring the army that they should have no cause to repent their moderation and obedience; that he would report to the Lacedæmonian government their good conduct, and would consider by what means he might immediately serve them. Soothed thus by Anaxibius, and upon the point of losing Xenophon, who was still bent upon returning to Athens, officers and men acceded to the proposal of Cyratades. He promised that every necessary for setting out on their proposed expedition should be ready next morning, victuals, drink, victims, and a prophet, (it is Xenophon's list,) and upon this they quietly marched out of the town. They were no sooner gone than Anaxibius caused the gates to be locked, and proclamation to be made that, if any soldiers of the Cyrean army were any more found in Byzantium, they should be sold for slaves. Such was the treatment of this gallant army, on its first arrival in a European Greek city, from the commander-in-chief of the united forces of Greece.

Xenophon (who had staid thus long at the particular request of Anaxibius) found himself, in return for his service in preserving the town from pillage and slaughter, banished in common with the whole army from its walls. Applying to Cleander, the governor, his host, he obtained, with some difficulty, permission to enter; but upon condition that he would sail with Anaxibius, who, on the approaching expiration of the term of his command, was to return to Greece.

Whether the policy of Anaxibius, or his own presump-

tuously folly, had urged Cyratades to an undertaking which could only involve him in immediate shame, (though it appears far more likely the former,) he was utterly unable to provide even one day's subsistence for the army.

Anab. I. 7.  
c. 1. s. 25.

Its obedience therefore was instantly withdrawn from him, and the troops took quarters for themselves in the Thracian villages; under what compact, or with what violence, we are uninformed. Xenophon only proceeds to observe, that none of the generals having influence enough to unite all in any settled design, the army wasted in inaction. Many of the soldiers sold their arms; some got their passage for Greece; some settled themselves in the Grecian towns on the Propontis. Anaxibius rejoiced in this decay of that once-powerful and proud army; less as he feared injury to any Grecian settlement, or to the Lacedæmonian authority, than as he hoped to be paid for gratifying the Persian satrap.

c. 2. s. 1, 2.

Apparently the Lacedæmonian government remained yet balancing what policy to follow toward Persia. But it seems likely that Lysander's party had communicated with the Cyreans, and encouraged hope of Lacedæmonian service for them through war in Asia. Thus the party of Pausanias, which still preponderated, would entertain the greater jealousy of them, and be more disposed to direct or approve the conduct of Anaxibius. That officer, quitting at length his command, took Xenophon with him for the voyage to Greece. He put into the port of Parium, near the northern entrance of the strait of the Hellespont, for the purpose of holding farther communication with Pharnabazus. But, without a character to win esteem, upon losing his power he could no longer command respect. The policy of Asiatic councils was now directed to cultivate the friendship of the superseding officers, Aristarchus, who had passed up the Propontis to take the government of Byzantium, and Polus,

the new commander-in-chief, who was daily expected. The promise of Aristarchus was already engaged, that no disturbance should be given by the Cyrean army to the Bithynian satrapy. Anaxibius then, no longer able to profit from service to his own party, seems to have proposed to earn credit with the opposite party by a very strong measure. He proposed to Xenophon to go to the army, and bring it over into Asia: offering a vessel for the passage, with orders that horses should be furnished for his use, and obedience paid to his commands. Xenophon, knowing, as Anab. 1. 7.  
c. 2. s. 5. he says, that, however the generals were divided, the soldiers would universally rejoice in the opportunity to make war in the rich satrapies of Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, undertook the business. Being received by the army with all the joy he expected, he led it immediately to Perinthus, there to embark for Asia.

What really persuaded him to such a measure his necessarily cautious account does not explain. Possibly he had expectation, or possibly false information, of a change in the government of Lacedæmon. The conduct of Cleander seems to indicate such expectation. As soon as the controlling authority of Anaxibius was removed from Byzantium, with a just regard for humanity, for the Greek nation, and for his friendship contracted with Xenophon, he had been kindly attentive to all Cyrean soldiers in the place and neighbourhood, particularly directing quarters to be provided for the sick. On the contrary, one of the first measures of the new harmost of Byzantium, Aristarchus, was to order all Cyrean soldiers, that could be found in the town, to be arrested; and, in strict pursuance of the tyrannical edict of Anaxibius, s. 7. he sold four hundred for slaves. Hearing then of the march of the army to Perinthus, he went thither with two triremes, and forbade its passage to Asia. In vain Xenophon urged the authority of Anaxibius. From



his own account seemingly he should have known that Anaxibius neither had authority, nor deserved influence. Aristarchus answered that Anaxibius was no longer commander-in-chief; that he was himself governor there, and that he would sink any vessel attempting to transport troops to Asia. Next day he sent for the generals and lochages to attend him in Perinthus. They obeyed the summons; but, as they approached the town, intelligence was communicated to Xenophon that if he entered the walls he would be arrested, and either suffer on the spot, or be delivered to Pharnabazus. Under pretence of a sacrifice therefore he returned to the camp. The rest proceeding were not admitted to the presence of Aristarchus, but desired to attend again in the evening; and this confirmed Xenophon in the opinion that the information given him was well founded.

To cross into Asia, in opposition to the Lacedæmonian commanders, would be neither easy to effect, nor safe if effected. In the Chersonese, whither Anaxibius had pointed their view, they would be as in a trap, under the power of the Lacedæmonian governor there; and, having experienced Spartan fraud, they feared Spartan policy. Thus, in the midst of flourishing Grecian settlements, and almost in Greece, the Cyreans, threatened on all sides, found themselves more at a loss which way to turn than when first deserted by their Persian allies, thousands of miles from home, in the middle of the hostile Persian empire.

## SECTION VII.

*Return of the Greeks. — Circumstances of Thrace. — Service of the Army with a Thracian Prince. — Engagement of the Army in the Lacedæmonian Service. — Passage to Asia, and March to join the Lacedæmonian Forces.*

THE political state of the world, that arrangement which the wisdom of man can make for establishing the rights and

restraining the misconduct of his own species, may appear, in modern times, defective enough; but, as far as we can look into antiquity, we find a state of things less harmonised and more precarious. Hence continual opportunity for profit to those who would make war their trade; and hence arose still a glimmering of hope for the Cyreans. The best market was generally found among the most polished and luxurious nations; and so, as civilisation spread, the market was extended. Various circumstances, of late years, had led to increased intercourse of the Greeks with the Thracians, whence civilisation gained among the latter. Long since, though spurning at all other trade, the Thracians would let their valour and skill in arms for hire: the progress then was easy, if need occurred, to hiring the service of others. A Thracian prince, Seuthes son of Mæsades, had solicited the

Anab. 1. 7.  
c. 1. s. 4. c. 2.  
s. 6. 18. & 12.

service of the Cyreans. His immediate means of remuneration were small; but his promises, should

success attend their exertions in his favour, were alluring. Seuthes was descended from Teres, that powerful chieftain

Ch. 14. s. 2.  
of this Hist.

who, as we have formerly seen, united under his

dominion all the Thracian clans, from the Ægean to the Danube, and from the Euxine to the Strymon; whose son and successor, Sitalces, married a Greek lady, and accepted the freedom of Athens; and whose grandson, Seuthes son of Sparadocus, the successor of Sitalces, married Stratonice, sister of Perdiccas king of Macedonia. The advantage of such connections, added to that of do-

Thucyd.  
1. 2. c. 97.

minion superior in extent, revenue, and military

force to any other then in Europe, it might be expected would bring civilisation into Thrace, and raise that country to a political importance equal to any then in the world. The splendour of the monarchy accordingly was increased by Seuthes son of Sparadocus; and no misfortune befel it of which Thucydides has left notice. But a nation is not so

soon to be changed: the manners and prejudices of the Thracian people involved the princes in the national degradation, before the princes could effect any considerable improvement of the people. What were the convulsions that produced the decline of the Odrysian power we are not informed; but we learn from Xenophon Anab. 1. 7. c. 2. s. 18. that it had a rapid fall, and that the Thracians remained barbarians.

When the Cyrean army returned from the east, Medocus reigned over the Odrysians; and, though very inferior to his predecessors, was the principal potentate of Thrace. His usual residence was at the distance of twelve days' journey, within land, from the Propontis. c. 3. s. 7. Mæsades had possessed a principality, apparently a subordinate principality, over three conquered tribes in the neighbourhood of Byzantium; but, in the decay of the Odrysian power, had been expelled by them, and died soon after. The successful revolters maintained themselves in a wild sort of republican freedom, while Seuthes, the infant son of Mæsades, was kindly entertained by his sovereign and kinsman, Medocus. But the spirit of a Thracian could not brook inactive dependency. On attaining manhood Seuthes requested of his protector that, instead of remaining a burthen upon his generosity, looking up to him like a dog, (his expression reported from his own mouth by Xenophon,) he might be allowed such force as could s. 18. be spared him to attempt the recovery of his inheritance. A small body, horse and foot, was granted; and, from that time, Seuthes, unable to subdue the people, had however supported himself and his followers by plunder from his paternal principality.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> The genealogy of a chieftain of three small tribes of barbarians cannot be, in itself, very important; but, for the sake of high authority wantonly attacked, and of the consistency of history, which is liable to gross injury from hasty and

Such was the state of things when the Cyrean army arrived at Chrysopolis. Before it crossed the strait, agents

unexamined surmises, especially of able commentators, I shall take some notice of that of Seuthes. With a mixture of rashness and carelessness, which one cannot but be surprised to find in him, Spelman would have Seuthes, mentioned by Xenophon as son of Mæsadēs, the same person with the Seuthes mentioned by Thucydides as son of Sparadocus. (See the second note of the sixth book, and the fifteenth note of the seventh book, of his translation of the Expedition of Cyrus.)

Among the Greeks, we know, as among the Welsh, the father's name served, in the want of a family name, to distinguish the individual from others of the same name, and was therefore, in describing persons, an object for careful attention. Sparadocus and Mæsadēs have no such resemblance as could occasion the mistake of one name for the other, by either author or transcriber; and the connection of Thucydides and the communication of Xenophon with Thrace were such that deficient information cannot reasonably be imputed to either. Spelman has not undertaken to say which was mistaken; but, without the slightest reason alleged, his surmise necessarily attributes a mistake to one of them. If, instead of such able contemporary authors, who had such uncommon means of information, he had attributed such an error, even by a mere guess, to such a writer as Diodorus, who, according to Dodwell's phrase, confounded history some hundred years after, he would have been more excusable; unless evidence as clear, as what in this case he ought to have been aware of, contradicted the supposition. For, setting aside the distinction of the father's name, generally decisive for identification among the Greeks, or supposing one only to have been properly a name, and the other a title, (for sometimes the want of attention to such distinction perhaps may have produced some confusion of foreign names among Greek writers,) still, had Spelman taken the trouble to compare the history of the Seuthes mentioned by Thucydides with that of the Seuthes under whom Xenophon served, he would have seen that they could not be the same. Seuthes, son of Sparadocus, passed his youth with his uncle Sitalces; and, after long acting under him as his principal favourite, on his death succeeded to his extensive and powerful dominion. (Thucyd. l. 2. c. 101.) That dominion consisted of the chieftainship of the conquering clan, the Odrysians, which was the ancient inheritance of his family, with the paramount sovereignty over all the other Thracian tribes, acquired by the conquest of Teres; and the revenue of this large dominion, as Thucydides assures us, Seuthes himself improved. During his youth and after his accession therefore the Odrysian power was at its height. But Mæsadēs, father of Xenophon's Seuthes, was prince only of three conquered tribes, the Melandepts, Thyns, and Thranipses, bordering on the Propontis, while Medocus reigned over the Odrysians. Xenophon expressly says it was in the decay of the Odrysian power that Mæsadēs was expelled by his subjects; and Seuthes, his son, was then under age, a mere boy; for so much not only is implied in the term *ἑταῖρος*, (*pupillus*, as Leunclavius has rendered it,) but fully confirmed by the phrase that follows, *ἐπεὶ δὲ νεανίσκος ἐγενόμην*. This Seuthes was protected and educated by Medocus king of the Odrysians, and never himself pretended to the Odrysian throne, but was happy to recover his

came from Seuthes to invite its service. The overtures, then rejected, but renewed when it was driven from Byzantium, were, through disagreement among the generals, again fruitless. But now, when, disappointed in all other views, while the season (for it was mid-<sup>Anab. 1. 7.  
c. 3. s. 6.</sup>winter) denied the passage for such numbers to Greece, and the soldiers were without means for providing themselves in a friendly country, to go wherever an enemy to be plundered could be pointed out seemed the only resource for subsistence. Xenophon therefore resolved to <sup>c. 2. s. 9.</sup>postpone his return to Athens, and endeavour to serve the army by going himself to negotiate with Seuthes.

The connection of Neon, as an Asinæan, with <sup>s. 6.</sup>Lacedæmon, had decided his politics. He had attached himself to Aristarchus, and seceding now from the army with about eight hundred men, he encamped apart. All the other generals approved the proposal of Xenophon, and each named a confidential officer to attend him. Xenophon, adding Polycrates, an Athenian lochage, as <sup>s. 10.</sup>his own assistant, rode by night to a castle where Seuthes was then residing, scarcely eight miles from the camp. As they approached, many fires being seen, but no people, they imagined Seuthes had suddenly moved his residence. Presently however the hum of voices was heard, <sup>s. 11.</sup>and communication of signals distinguished. An interpreter soon advanced, and, after due explanation, an escort of two hundred targeteers coming conducted Xenophon with his attendants to the castle. Everything around,

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principality over the three tribes above mentioned more than twenty years after Seuthes son of Sparadocus had succeeded his uncle Sitalces in the monarchy of Thrace. All this being clearly stated by the two able contemporary historians, without the least appearance of contradiction between them, Spelman's fancy, as unnecessary for any explanation as unfounded on any authority, seems unaccountable.

Anab. l. 7.  
c. 2. s. 12. it was observed, marked extreme precaution against surprise. By the distant fires whatever approached was visible, while darkness involved the castle and its watch. The horses of a surrounding out-guard of cavalry, fed only by day, were kept bridled and ready for instantly mounting all night. It was requested of Xenophon that only two of his attendants might enter with him. Such s. 13. were the fears in which this prince habitually lived; the Thyn-Thracians, his revolted subjects, possessors of the country, being esteemed singularly expert and daring in nocturnal enterprise.

Xenophon with his two companions being introduced to the prince, horns of wine, according to the Thracian custom, were presented with the first salutation. After some conversation Xenophon desired that his other principal fol- s. 16. lowers might be admitted; but, to obviate the prince's jealousy, directed that they should leave all weapons without. Seuthes however exclaiming that he s. 17. mistrusted no Athenian, that, on the contrary, he considered all as his kinsmen and friends, the whole party was introduced. The prince's proposals were then declared. His purpose was to subdue the country, formerly subject to his father: with the Grecian army added to his own forces, he was confident, he said, it s. 18—20. would be easy. For monthly pay he offered a

Cyzicene, about a guinea, to every soldier, two to the lochages, and four to the generals; a common proportion, it appears, for Grecian service. Protection, to those who might want it, against the Lacedæmonians, at the motion of Xenophon he readily promised: and, as land was what a Thracian prince could perhaps of all things most cheaply give, he offered it in any quantity; but he also promised to make it valuable by adding oxen for cultivation, and a fortified sea-port for securely exporting the produce. To Xeno-

phon in particular he promised Bisante, his best town on the coast, with the offer of his daughter in marriage, and assurance that, if Xenophon had a daughter, he would buy her, according to the Thracian custom.

The liberality of these promises seems so nearly to have approached extravagance that it might not unreasonably have excited suspicion. If Xenophon however had any, he has not declared it. Right hands were mutually given, and Xenophon with his followers returned to their camp before day. In the morning Aristarchus again sent for the generals, but they refused to go. The army being assembled, the proposal of Seuthes was explained, and joyfully accepted: Neon and others from Aristarchus endeavoured to dissuade; holding out promises of advantage from the Lacedæmonian government for service in the Chersonese; but they were little heard.

Xenophon led, and the army marched. Before they advanced four miles Seuthes met them, and took the office of guide. In the afternoon they reached some villages stored with provisions, where the soldiers were well supplied, while the generals and lochages supped with the prince. The detail of this entertainment, the most curious of its kind remaining from antiquity, shows, among the Thracians, considerable resemblance to customs, yet common, among the politest people of the East; and, among the Greeks, not that correctness of manners, though Xenophon himself is an exception, which might be expected. At sunset, when, after a plentiful repast, the cup had sufficiently circulated, the Greeks arose, alleging the necessity of posting their night-guards and giving out the word. Their knowledge of Thracian manners, and their observation of wine consumed, gave them to suppose that Seuthes would not rise sober; but, without any appearance of ebriety, he

Anab. 1. 7.  
c. 3. s. 1.

s. 2, 3.

s. 4.

s. 7—16.

s. 17.

followed them, and proposed, by marching that night, to surprise the enemy, yet uninformed of his increased strength.

Anab. 1. 7.  
c. 3. s. 18—20. Much plunder he hoped might be taken, and many prisoners; which, as the Grecian towns of the neighbourhood afforded a ready market for slaves, might be turned to good account.

s. 21. The Greeks approved, and at midnight the army marched. Not however till toward noon next day they reached the summit of a mountain-ridge, covered with deep snow, and descending unlooked-for into the plain beyond, they found the expected prey.

s. 28. About a thousand slaves were taken, with two thousand head of neat, and ten thousand of smaller cattle. Next morning Seuthes burnt all the villages, proposing to bring the people to submission by the fear of losing their shelter and subsistence in the severity of winter. The booty was sent to be sold at Perinthus to provide pay for the army.

s. 2. In this country, in so southern a latitude, and only two days' march from the sea, a heavy snow falling, the cold was so intense that water froze as it was carried from the spring, and even the wine in the vessels became ice. The Greeks had not so profited from experience in Armenia and Pontus but that, with their short cloaks and bare thighs, they suffered severely: some, frost-bitten, lost ears and noses. Then they discovered the advantage of the Thracian military dress, which at first had appeared uncouth: foxskin caps covering the ears, cloaks reaching below the knee, and warm covering for the horse-men's legs, protected Seuthes's troops against the inconveniences of weather, to which their constitutions also were, by yearly practice, more hardened.

In such a season however the Thyns, driven from their villages to seek refuge among the mountains, could not but



be distressed. Finding themselves unable to resist the destruction threatened to all their valleys, <sup>Anab. l. 7. c. 4. s. 8, 9.</sup> they sent proposals of submission, and requested Xenophon's mediation in their favour. A perfidious attack <sup>s. 10—15.</sup> on the Grecian quarters followed, and particularly against Xenophon's. It was however successfully resisted, and the forces of Seuthes being greatly <sup>s. 16.</sup> increased by Odrysian volunteers, the Thyns threw themselves on his mercy. The Thracian prince paid the compliment to Xenophon to offer him any revenge he might choose for the perfidy which had been directed against his life. Xenophon answered that, if he desired revenge, he should have it abundantly, in the change of the condition of the people from independency to subjection under despotic authority.<sup>40</sup> Xenophon, it appears, knew how to value freedom; but was not nicely scrupulous of supporting the cause of despotism.

Seuthes, having thus recovered his patrimony, <sup>c. 5. s. 1—9.</sup> found himself, within the short space of two months, from a wandering freebooter, become prince of a considerable territory. His army was increased not only with the strength of the conquered people, but with nume-

<sup>40</sup> Εἰ οὗτοι δούλοι ἔσονται ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων. — *If these people were, instead of freemen, to become slaves.* Spelman. This does not duly convey to English readers the sense of the original. The word δούλος was not confined to the strict meaning of *slave* with us: for this the Greeks used the term ἀνδράποδον: the other applied to any who lived under a despotic government. Thus Xenophon makes Cyrus call himself δούλος: and that subjection to Lacedæmon, under which the Thirty proposed to govern Athens, is termed by Isocrates and Lysias δουλεία and δουλεύειν. Isocr. Areop. p. 140. v. 2. & Lys. περὶ τῆς Εὐανδρ. δοκιμ. p. 177. vel 804. But Lysias calls his manufacturer slaves ἀνδράποδα. Adv. Eratosth. p. 388. If we sometimes apply the term *slave* to the subjects of arbitrary governments, it is by a rhetorical licence, and not in the sober language of historical narrative: we do not consider a Chinese mandareen, a Turkish bashaw, or a Spanish grandee as the same description of person with a West Indian slave; nor would the Greeks have called Cyrus ἀνδράποδον, though he might call himself δούλος. Xenophon (de rep. Ath. c. 1. s. 11.) uses the expression of δουλεύειν ἀνδραπόδοις — meaning that the Athenian people were subservient to their slaves, not slaves to them.

rous Odrysians, whom success allured to his standard. To the north of Byzantium, bordering on the Euxine sea, lived a Thracian horde who had never owned the dominion of Mæsadæ, but, having been formerly subdued by Teres, had since asserted independency. Seuthes marched against these, and quickly compelled them to become his tributaries. Turning then southward again, his Thracian numbers now considerably exceeding the Greeks, they together approached the Propontis and encamped near Selymbria. It is remarkable that, in this winter campaign, in so severe a climate, against an enemy much overpowered indeed, but singularly expert and enterprising in desultory war, not a Greek was lost.

Active and bold, national characteristics of a Thracian, Seuthes had no great understanding and no clear honour. Mean deception however and gross dishonesty seem to have been less his own purpose than what he was led to by a profligate Greek, Heraclides of Maronea, who had acquired his confidence, and was one of his principal counsellors before the Cyrean army entered into his service. This man, having succeeded in the endeavour to excite apprehension and dislike of Xenophon, instigated the prince, who now no longer wanted the service of the Grecian army, to refuse the arrear of pay, when a small part only, of what by agreement was due, had yet been issued. He failed in an endeavour to divide the generals; but discontent grew among the soldiers, while all Xenophon's applications for the pay owing were answered with evasion.

Anab. i. 7.  
c. 5. s. 9.

In this state of things, while, on one side, Seuthes was surrounded by his numerous Thracian forces, strong in cavalry, of which the Greeks were destitute, on the other, judging from past transactions, no degree of enmity was not to be apprehended from the all-powerful officers of Sparta, difficulty and danger seemed again accumulating against the unfortunate Cyreans, and

particularly against Xenophon. An event, no longer expected, relieved them. The Lacedæmonian government had resolved upon war with Persia; Anab. l. 7. c. 6. s. 1. and thus the Cyrean army, before an object of jealousy, now would be a valuable acquisition. Accordingly two Lacedæmonian officers, Charminus and Polynices, came to Selymbria, authorised to engage them, at the same pay promised by Seuthes, to go to that most inviting of all fields for military service, the rich satrapy of Tissaphernes. The proposal was joyfully received; and the s. 7. more, as, beside other advantages, the commanding interference of Lacedæmon, it was now hoped, would obtain the arrear of pay due from the Thracian prince. But Seuthes was governed by a few interested counsellors: and it was not till the army was sent to live at free quarters in some villages which he had given to one of the chief of them, that an interview, desired by Xenophon and long evaded, was at length obtained. An s. 29. Odrysian, who assisted at the conference, with c. 7. s. 6. generous indignation declared his shame of that officer's conduct. His great sovereign Medocus, he said, he was sure would not approve such base dishonesty, nor give any support to those who could be guilty of it. Seuthes excused himself, disavowing knowledge of the circumstances, and laying the blame on his Greek counsellor Heraclides. Payment was then made, in the manner of the country. A single talent was all that could be obtained in s. 31. money: six hundred oxen, four thousand sheep, and a hundred and twenty slaves were given for the remainder due. The disposal of these, for the benefit of the army, was dexterously referred by Xenophon, as s. 34. a compliment, to the Lacedæmonians Charminus and Polynices, who incurred no small blame in the conduct of the invidious business.

Anab. i. 7.  
c. 8. s. 1. 3.

The army then crossed to Lampsacus, where two Lacedæmonian officers arrived soon after with pay, which was immediately issued for the march to ensue. The plain of Troy, mount Ida, Antandrus, and the vale of Thebe, were then traversed, in the way to Pergamus in the vale of Caicus. There a circumstance occurred, in itself, and in Xenophon's manner of relating it, strongly characterising the times. Generally earnest in inculcating humanity and liberality, and studious to demonstrate his own disinterestedness, the soldier-philosopher nevertheless, without any apparent compunction, gives a detailed account of a nocturnal expedition, which he undertook with a few favourite officers, to surprise a wealthy Persian with his family, in a castle at some distance in the vale. A Grecian family of rank in Pergamus had suggested the measure,

s. 6.            apparently to share in the spoil. The prophet,

employed to sacrifice on the occasion, declared, from the symptoms of the victims, that the gods approved and would favour the robbery. Resistance nevertheless was found so much more vigorous than expected that the party was obliged to retreat, with many wounds, and considerable risk of being all cut off. A feigned movement, with the whole army, induced the Persian to leave his

s. 12.            castle. The attempt being then renewed, the castle was taken, with his wife, children, slaves,

horses, and all his effects. The capture was so considerable

s. 13.            that Xenophon's share enabled him, according to his own phrase, to confer benefits; though before

so distressed as to be reduced, at Lampsacus, to sell his horse for fifty darics, about thirty-five guineas.

† s. 3.

The army returned to Pergamus, there to wait the orders of the Lacedæmonian commander-in-chief.

NOTES from the End of the First Section of the  
Twenty-third Chapter.

<sup>1</sup> It seems a whimsical circumstance that, among other writers, Spelman, the applauded translator, and Hutchinson, the able editor of the *Anabasis*, have concurred in the fancy to contradict or explain away their author's own account of his own age; and, without apparent purpose, but to establish a calculation of their own, founded upon authority so dubious and so deficient that, even were there nothing on the other side, it could scarcely prove anything. Lucian, in his treatise on *Long Life*, says that Xenophon passed the age of ninety years; without adding when he was born or when he died. Diogenes Laertius says that he died in the first year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad; without adding at what age. Strabo (l. 9. p. 618.) has related that he fought at the battle of Delium, in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war. But Athenæus has shown, from Plato, that this could not be \*; and indeed the story altogether is so nearly absurd that we may wonder rather that Strabo should have related it, than that Diogenes should have copied it from him. Diogenes is not famous for accuracy any more than for judgment. So Spelman professes to rest on Lucian's account; which, he says, he sees no reason to disbelieve. Nor have I been able to discover reason to disbelieve; for it really affirms no more than that Xenophon lived to the age of more than ninety; which is in itself possible, and contradicted by none. But Xenophon's own account, equally uncontradicted by all ancient writers, appears to me to deserve the first credit. He has indeed not stated his own age precisely; but he has marked it, I think clearly, within two or three years; and so the learned and ingenious friend of Spelman has thought, the author of the *Geographical Dissertation* annexed to his translation of the *Anabasis*. Spelman and Hutchinson, putting together the accounts of Lucian and Diogenes, (for neither alone will at all serve their purpose), reckon Xenophon near fifty when he engaged with Cyrus: the author of the *Geographical Dissertation* supposes him only five-and-twenty. If Xenophon's own account

[\* "I have found nothing stated on the authority of Plato, in Athenæus, to this purpose." Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.* p. 89.]

of himself deserve any credit, and if it ought not to be tortured to a meaning to which it cannot, without torture, be brought, he was certainly under thirty. The matter is not important; but having taken the pains, perhaps more than it was worth, to examine it, I will not deny the reader who may have curiosity for it, the benefit, if he can draw any, from my trouble.

Among the first occasions on which the name of Xenophon occurs in the *Anabasis* (l. 2. c. 1. s. 10.), he is addressed with the appellation of *Νεανίσκε*, which Spelman observes, however ill it might apply to one near fifty, must be translated *Young man*. Now it happens that we have information from Xenophon himself, to what age a man might properly be called *Νέος*. The question occurs in his *Memorials of Socrates* (l. 1. c. 2. s. 35.), and thirty is there named as its utmost term, and rather beyond the age to which it was ordinarily given. *Νεανίσκος* then, a diminutive from *Νέος*, would not be commonly applied to a more advanced age. As the titles *Νέος* and *Νεανίσκος* \* are more than once in the *Anabasis* given to Xenophon, this alone seems pretty strong proof that he was under thirty. But there is besides in the *Anabasis* what appears to me complete confirmation of it; for Proxenus, it is there positively said, was about thirty when he was put to death, or when the army was deprived of his services. Xenophon, when he first conceived the idea of offering himself for successor to Proxenus in command, was deterred by the consideration of his youth; which seems decisively to mark that he was younger than Proxenus, and consequently under thirty. This indeed is testimony so nearly direct that it has evidently staggered Spelman; who nevertheless has been so resolved to abide by his deduction from Lucian and Diogenes that, rather than allow his author to give evidence against it, he has chosen to mis-translate him, and even to risk contradictions. *What age do I wait for?* is his

[\* "I find no passage in the *Anabasis* in which these terms are so applied. In the only passage quoted (ii. l. 13.) it will be found on referring to the edition of Schneider (who has restored the true reading), that the text was corrupt, and that the term *νεανίσκος* is there applied, not to Xenophon, but to another person. See Schneid. ad *Anab.* ii. l. 12. Weiske *Xenoph.* tom. iii. p. 313." Clinton, *ibid.*

Though Mr. Clinton points out these mistakes, he previously admits that Mr. Mitford has in other respects successfully combated Spelman.]

very just version of Xenophon's words, when hesitating whether to offer himself for the command; words certainly bearing no very evident sense, if they did not imply that he apprehended objection would be taken to his youth. In answer then to this objection Xenophon proceeds thus: Οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος ἔσομαι, ἐὰν τήμερον προδῶ ἑμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις. (Anab. 1. 3. c. 1. s. 10). *If I abandon myself to the enemy this day (so Spelman turns the passage), I shall never live to see another.* It cannot be said, in excuse for the miserable insipidity of this version, that it is literal. A literal translation would here not only give the sense more exactly, but even more spiritedly: *I shall never be older, (replying to his own question, "What age do I wait for?") if to-day I betray myself to the enemy; meaning, if through false delicacy, in consideration of my youth, I omit that exertion by which I and the army with me might be saved from the enemy.*

Another passage soon follows, to the same purpose, of which Spelman has very ingeniously given a literal translation, with a sense completely dubious. When actually offering himself for the command, Xenophon apologises for his youth thus: Εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς τάττετέ με ἡγεῖσθαι, οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἡγοῦμαι ἐρύκειν ἀπ' ἑμαντοῦ τὰ κακά. *If you appoint me to be your leader (says Spelman's translation), I shall not excuse myself by reason of my age, but think myself even in the vigour of it to repel an injury.* It is obvious that this might come either from a man too old or from one too young for the office. To fix the sense therefore the reader is referred, by a note, to the translator's former notice of Xenophon's age. Spelman seems to have been so aware of the absurdity of stating that fifty was an age either too early, or too advanced, for a man to undertake the office of general, that he chose rather to refer the reader to a former discussion than to shock him with the direct mention, in this place, of the result of it. Leunclavius has translated the passage very differently, and I think very properly, thus: *Si me ducis munere fungi jubetis, ætatis excusatione nequaquam utar; sed adolescentiæ vigorem ad propulsandum mala mihi profuturum arbitror.* We find that Clearchus, who is represented as a general of most vigorous exertion, was fifty; and Cleanor was older. If Xenophon was near fifty, he would not have said, "What age do I wait for?" The whole of the apology for his age, whether as sup-

posing him too old or too young, would have been absurd. But every mention of him with any implication of his age throughout the Anabasis, shows him to have been much younger. A few weeks before his appointment to the command he was addressed with the appellation of *Νεανίσκος*, *Youth*. After his appointment, we are informed, (l. 3. c. 2. s. 25.) Timasion and he were the two youngest of the generals. If he was too old, how improper must have been the choice of the others! But, in the various actions that followed, we find him always taking, mentioning it also as becoming him, that more active duty which, in the Grecian service, was appropriated to the youthful. Supposing him between twenty-five and thirty, the interpretation, where he speaks of himself, is always obvious, and all is consistent; but supposing him fifty, or near it, even the forced interpretation of Spelman is full of contradiction and absurdity.

If then I cannot commend the judgment, the accuracy, or the fairness of Spelman, in forming and supporting his opinion of Xenophon's age, I can still less be satisfied with the more direct and less qualified contradiction of his author, in the account which, in his Introduction, he has given of the Lacedæmonian Clearchus. Totally neglecting Xenophon's short but clear history of the principal circumstances of that general's life, he has trusted implicitly to the very different account of Diodorus Siculus, "who, beside the character he has deservedly obtained," he says, "for fidelity and exactness, had the advantage of living many centuries nearer the transactions he recounts, than those who differ from him in chronology." This seems really a curious reason for preferring the account of Diodorus, who lived full three centuries after Clearchus, to that of Xenophon, who served under him, and cannot but have known intimately, if not Clearchus himself, yet many who must have known him intimately. As to the character which Diodorus has deservedly obtained for fidelity and exactness, those who know him best, I fear, will be most inclined to join with the penetrating, judicious, and diligent Henry Dodwell; who, compelled, by the pursuit he was engaged in, to study him closely, and indignant at length at the incessancy of his vexatious inaccuracies, calls him *imperitus historiarum variarum epocharumque* commissor *Diodorus*. (Chron. Xenoph. ad ann. A. C. 396.)

It is an unpleasant task, which the writer of Grecian history



cannot always decline, to decry the general authority of those on whom he must sometimes rest for authority ; if he would vindicate historical sincerity, it is indispensable. Plutarch, living more than four centuries after Xenophon, and more than one after Diodorus, has chosen to contradict the accounts of both. Instead of a condemned exile, as Xenophon, or a rebel, as Diodorus reports Clearchus to have been, Plutarch affirms that he had a regular commission from the Lacedæmonian government to serve under Cyrus. (Plut. vit. Artaxer. p. 1854.) It is evident from the whole tenor of Xenophon's narrative, the only connected and consistent narrative remaining of the transactions of the age, that this could not have been. Let those who, in respect for any reputation which Plutarch may have gained among literary men little conversant with the world, would put his authority in any competition with Xenophon's, but look to the puerility and absurdity of the account he has given of the communication between Cyrus and the Lacedæmonian government, previous to the expedition ; and, if they desire a sample of his carelessness, let them compare his praise of Xenophon, in his account of the battle of Cunaxa, with his continual and unqualified contradictions of Xenophon.

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<sup>2</sup> The account of the expedition of Cyrus and of the return of the Greeks, remaining to us with the title of *Κύρου Ἀνάβασις*, having passed apparently without question, among the ancients, for the work of the Socratic Xenophon, from his own age downward, it cannot but seem strange that any doubt about it should have gained in modern times. Nevertheless, such a doubt, excited by a passage in the work itself, having been cherished by men eminent among the learned, some notice of it may be necessary here.

In Xenophon's Grecian Annals the tenor of the narration required some account of the expedition of Cyrus and the return of the Grecian army ; but, instead of giving any, the author has referred his reader to an account which he attributes to Themistogenes of Syracuse. This at first sight will of course give to suppose that an account written by a Syracusan, named Themistogenes, was then extant ; but it can at no rate prove

that the work now extant on the subject, which always passed among the ancients for Xenophon's, was written, not by Xenophon, but by Themistogenes. It is however remarkable that, from the age of Xenophon to that of Suidas, no mention occurs, in any remaining work, of such an author as Themistogenes; while we find an extraordinary assemblage, of names the most eminent in literature, bearing testimony to the extant *Anabasis* as the work of Xenophon. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Strabo, Cicero, Laertius, Lucian, Ælian, Hesychius, Pollux, Harpocration, Ammonius, are enumerated by Hutchinson: to these, I think, should be added Demetrius Phalereus, or the author of the work attributed to him, Arrian (*de Exp. Alex.* l. 1. c. 12.), Plutarch, and Longinus; and when, in an age comparatively modern, the collector Suidas chose to controvert this weight of evidence, he has offered no argument but a reference to the works of Xenophon, which all those authors had read and could understand at least as well as he.

Why then, it will of course occur to ask, did Xenophon, in his Grecian Annals, refer to the work of Themistogenes? Plutarch in his treatise on the Glory of the Athenians, has accounted for it thus: "Xenophon," he says, "was a subject of history for himself. But when he published his narrative of his own achievements in military command, he ascribed it to Themistogenes of Syracuse; giving away thus the literary reputation to arise from the work, that he might the better establish the credit of the facts related."

This explanation, though I allow it credit as far as it goes, is however not by itself completely satisfactory. Nevertheless I think whoever reads the *Anabasis*, attending, at the same time, to the general history of the age, may draw, from the two, what is wanting to complete it. He cannot fail to observe, that it has been a principal purpose of the author of the *Anabasis* to apologise for the conduct of Xenophon. In the latter part of the work the narrative is constantly accompanied with a studied defence of his conduct; in which both the circumstances that produced his banishment from Athens, and whatever might give umbrage or excite jealousy against him in Lacedæmon, have been carefully considered. But there are passages in the work, speeches of Xenophon himself on delicate occasions, particularly his communication with Cleander the Lacedæmonian general,

related in the sixth book, which could be known only from himself or from Cleander. That these have not been forgeries of Themistogenes is evident from the testimony of Xenophon himself, who refers to the work, which he ascribes to Themistogenes, with entire satisfaction.

One then of these three conclusions must follow : either, first, the narrative of Themistogenes, if such ever existed, had not in it that apology for Xenophon which we find interwoven in the *Anabasis* transmitted to us as Xenophon's, and consequently was a different work ; or, secondly, Themistogenes wrote under the direction of Xenophon ; or, thirdly, Xenophon wrote the extant *Anabasis*, and, for reasons which those acquainted with the circumstances of his life, and the history of the times, will have no difficulty to conceive may have been powerful, chose that, on its first publication, it should pass under another's name. The latter has been the belief of all antiquity ; and indeed, had it not been fully known that the ascription of the *Anabasis* to Themistogenes was a fiction, the concurrence of all antiquity, in stripping that author of his just fame, so completely that, from Xenophon himself to Suidas, he is never once named as a writer of merit in any work remaining, while in so many the *Anabasis* is mentioned as the work of Xenophon, would be, if at all credible, certainly the most extraordinary circumstance in the history of letters.

For the political and military historian the important result of what has here been stated is that, under every consideration, the facts reported in the *Anabasis* have the full authority of Xenophon. For myself, I will venture to add, I see no glimpse of reasonable doubt that Xenophon was the writer.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

HISTORY OF LACEDÆMON FROM THE RESTORATION OF THE  
ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY, AND AFFAIRS OF THE GREEKS  
IN ASIA FROM THE RENEWAL OF WAR BETWEEN LACE-  
DÆMON AND PERSIA, TO THE RENEWAL OF WAR WITHIN  
GREECE.

## SECTION I.

*War resolved by Lacedæmon against Persia. — Thimbron Com-  
mander-in-chief. — Joined by the Cyrean Greek Forces. — Liber-  
ality of the Persian Government. — Dercyllidas Commander-in-  
chief. — Truce with the Satrap of Lydia, and War with the  
Satrap of Bithynia. — Mania, Satrapess of Æolia. — Successes  
of Dercyllidas in Æolia. — Winter Operations in Bithynia. —  
Protection given to the Chersonese. — Prosperity of the Grecian  
Colonies. — Ill-judged Orders from Lacedæmon. — Danger of  
the Grecian Colonies. — Treaty concluded between Dercyllidas  
and Tissaphernes for the complete Emancipation of the Asian  
Greeks from Persian Dominion.*

WHEN the Lacedæmonians put an end to the Athenian empire,  
they vindicated to themselves the sovereignty of the islands  
and of the European cities; they placed their own  
governors, with the title of harmost, in Byzan-  
tium and in the Chersonese; but they neither claimed any  
dominion on the continent of Asia, nor asserted the freedom  
of the Grecian republics there: the allegiance of the Asian  
Greeks was transferred from the Athenian people to the  
Persian king; and, under him, to the satraps, Pharnabazus  
and Tissaphernes.

We have seen that, among the Greeks of Asia, Cyrus was  
popular, and Tissaphernes unpopular; insomuch that by a

Xen. Hel. l. 3.  
c. 1. s. 2.

kind of rebellion against the satrap, the Ionians had attached themselves to the prince. The event therefore of the expedition against the king, and the appointment of Tissaphernes to the great command which Cyrus had held, could not but be highly alarming to them. But, on the other hand, the glorious retreat of the Greeks who had accompanied the prince, and the clear evidence which their return in safety bore to the superiority of the Grecian arms, afforded ground of encouragement. If the patronage of Lacedæmon could be obtained, whose councils commanded the united arms of Greece, little, it was hoped, would be to be apprehended from the satrap's vengeance. Refusing therefore to acknowledge his authority, the Ionians sent ministers to Lacedæmon to solicit protection.

The Lacedæmonian government, less expecting friendship from the king and from Tissaphernes on account of their connection with Cyrus, and valuing it less as the fame of the actions of the Cyrean army taught to

*Xen. Hel. l. 3.  
c. 1. s. 3.*

despise their enmity, resolved that the Ionians should be protected. Possibly circumstances at home might contribute to this determination. It might be desirable to employ a part of their people on foreign service; and for service against an enemy so famed for wealth, and so little for bravery and military skill, volunteers would be numerous among the poor commonwealths of Peloponnesus. Four thousand men were required from the allies. Only one thousand were added from Lacedæmon; and they were all of those called neodamodes; who,

*B. C. 400, ending, or 399, beginning.  
Ol. 95. 1.*

owing their elevation from the condition of slaves into the rank of citizens to the necessities of war, were, on the return of peace, looked upon with so invidious an eye, that occasion for sending them on foreign service would be acceptable, both to the government and to themselves. Cavalry was very desirable for war in Asia: but the utmost

force that Peloponnesus could raise was very small; and the principal citizens of the wealthiest republics, who alone composed it, would not be the most willing partakers in distant adventure. Application was therefore made to Athens; where recent disorders, extreme political jealousy, and a total want of protection against any momentary caprice of the people, made the situation of men of rank and fortune so precarious that the offer of pay for three hundred horse found ready acceptance there. Thimbron was appointed commander-in-chief in Asia, with the title of harmost.

B. C. 399.  
Ol. 95. ½.

Arriving in Ionia with his European forces early in spring, Thimbron circulated a requisition for an apportionment of troops from every Grecian city in Asia; where, says Xenophon, at that time, all obeyed whatever a Lacedæmonian commanded. The Cyreans, under Xenophon, had been already engaged for the service, and were marching to join the Lacedæmonian army. Meanwhile, though his force was considerable, Thimbron feared to traverse the open country in presence of the Persian cavalry, and thought it well if he could afford, to the country around posts which he could securely occupy, some protection against its ravages. The junction of the Cyreans however gave him so decided a superiority that many towns, before awed by the Persian power, with ready zeal now opened their gates to him.

Xen. Hel. l. 3.  
c. 1. s. 4.

Four persons, whose circumstances deserve notice, took this opportunity of embracing the Grecian cause; Eurysthenes and Procles, descendants of Demaratus, the exiled king of Lacedæmon who attended Xerxes into Greece, and Gorgion and Gongylus, descended from the Eretrian Gongylus, who, by his conduct also during the Persian invasion, had merited banishment from his country and favour with the Persian monarch. The lord-

ship of the towns of Pergamus, Teuthrania, and Halisarnia, given to Demaratus, and of Gambrium, Palægambrium, Myrina, and Grynium, to Gongylus, remained to their posterity. These gifts, from the Persian king, seem to have had much of the nature of fiefs in the Gothic kingdoms.<sup>1</sup> It would have been a gratification, at least to our curiosity, had Xenophon been fuller in explanation on the subject. From their attachment to the cause of Cyrus, and consequent dread of the king's vengeance, apparently arose the revolt of those Grecian subjects of the Persian empire, which otherwise would mark gross ingratitude to a beneficent government. For the testimony here given by Xenophon, remarkably corresponding with all remaining from Herodotus and Thucydides, strongly confirms, what has been heretofore observed, that there was uncommon liberality in the despotism of the Persian empire. Public faith was kept; property was not without security; it was not there, as under the present wonderfully barbarian government of the same fine country, a crime to be rich. Large estates, given even to foreigners, passed to their late posterity; and, instead of the tyranny which now depopulates towns and provinces, and against which the remaining subjects recur to the patronage of some foreign ambassador, the Persian government so extended liberal protection to all that Grecian cities could prefer the dominion of the Persian king to that of the Athenian or Lacedæmonian commonwealths, and flourish under it.

But the Persian government, though generally mild and liberal, had been, since the reign of Xerxes, always weak, and verging to dissolution. The Lacedæmonian general Thimbron, who, with comparatively a small force, had been making conquests against it, showed

Xen. Hel. l. 3.  
c. 1. s. 5, 6.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Anabasis* Procles is called ἄρχων, chief, or lord, of Teuthrania. *Anab.* l. 2. c. 1. s. 3.

no considerable abilities in the field, and in camp and in quarters his discipline was very deficient. The allies suffered from the licentiousness of his army; and complaints were in consequence so urged at Lacedæmon that, on the expiration of his year, he was sentenced to banishment.

B. C. 398. \*  
Ol. 95. 2-3. =  
Xen. Hel.  
i. 3. c. 1.  
s. 6, 7, 8.

Dercyllidas, who succeeded him, was more equal to a great and difficult command. Having already served in Asia, under Lysander, he knew the characters of the two satraps, who divided between them, in almost independent sovereignty, the dominion of the western provinces. The instructions of the ephors directed him to lead the army into Caria, the hereditary government of Tissaphernes. But the desire of revenging a disgrace he had formerly incurred, when harried by Abydus, in consequence of an accusation from Pharnabazus, assisted at least, according to the contemporary historian, his friend, in determining him to act otherwise. He negotiated with Tissaphernes; and that dastardly satrap, ill disposed toward Pharnabazus, and always readier for negotiation than battle, instead of exerting the great power with which he was vested for the general defence of the empire, bargained for a particular peace for his own provinces, and consented that the Grecian arms should, without opposition from him, be carried into the Bithynian satrapy. Dercyllidas, having thus provided for the safety of the rich fields of Ionia, which would otherwise have been liable, in his absence, to suffer from the Persian cavalry, hastened his march northward; and, in the length of way from Caria to the borders of Æolia, he maintained an exactness of discipline that gained him the

[\* B. C. 399. "Dercyllidas supersedes Thimbron: Xenoph. Hel. iii. 1. 8. Before the conclusion of the war in Elis: Ib. iii. 2. 21. — which ended in this year: Hel. iii. 2. 30. τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος Θέρος πέμψας Θρασυδαῖος ἐς Λακιδαίμονα ἐνιχώρησεν σφᾶς τὸ τεῖχος περιελθὼν. Pausan. iii. 8. 2. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου—οἱ Ἕλαιοι καὶ Θρασυδῆρος (sic) συγχωροῦσι τοῦ ἄστυος καταρρίψαι τὸ τεῖχος." Clinton, Fasti Hellen. p. 90.]



greater credit with the allies as it was contrasted with the licentiousness from which the country had suffered while Thimbron commanded.

The circumstances of Æolia might reasonably have invited the attention of the general, though revenge had not instigated. According to that liberal policy, Xen. Hel. 1. 3. c. 1. s. 8, 9. more than once already noticed as ordinary among the Persians, Pharnabazus had appointed Zenis, a Greek of Dardanium, to be governor, or, according to Xenophon's phrase, satrap, of that fine country, so interesting, in earliest history, as the kingdom of Priam, and the seat of the Trojan war. Zenis died young, leaving a widow, Mania, also a Dardanian. This extraordinary woman solicited the succession to her late husband's command; and supported her solicitations with presents so agreeable to the satrap's fancy, and proofs so pregnant of her own talents and spirit, that she s. 10. obtained her suit. Being accordingly vested with the government she did not disappoint, but, on the contrary, far exceeded, the satrap's expectation. None of his governors collected and remitted the revenue more regularly; none accompanied the remittance with presents more acceptable; none, when he made his progress through his satrapy, received him with such elegant magnificence, or entertained him so agreeably. These were a woman's merits, but she united with them manly virtues. In the frequency of disaffection and revolt among the Persian provinces no disturbance happened under her government. She not only held all in due obedience, but, raising a body of Grecian mercenaries, she reduced the maritime towns of Larissa, Hamaxitus, and Colonæ, which had hitherto resisted the Persian dominion. Herself attended the sieges, viewing the operations from her chariot, and by praises and presents judiciously bestowed she excited such emulation that her army acquired repute superior to any other body of mer-

cenaries in Asia. Pharnabazus requiring troops for suppressing the incursions of the rebellious Mysians and Pisidians, she attended in person. In consequence of her able conduct and high reputation, he always treated her with great respect, and sometimes even desired her assistance in his council.

Mania was another Artemisia ; and the weighty authority of Xenophon for the history of the Dardanian satrapess not

Ch. 8. s. 5.  
of this Hist.

a little supports the account given by Herodotus of the Halicarnassian queen. But, though Mania

could govern provinces and conduct armies, yet, amid the encouragement which the gross defects, both of Grecian and Persian government, offered for daring villany, she could

Xen. Hel. i. 3.  
c. 1. s. 11. not secure herself against domestic treachery.

Scarcely had she passed her fortieth year when she was murdered in her palace by Midias, who had married her daughter. But a single murder would not answer the execrable villain's purpose. Her son, a most promising

s. 12.

youth of seventeen, was cut off. The assassin

had then the impudence to ask of the satrap the succession to the government held by the deceased Mania, supporting his solicitation by large presents. But he seems to have founded his hopes on a knowledge rather of the general temper and practice of the Persian great than of the particular character of Pharnabazus. He, with a generous indignation, refused the presents, and declared he would not live unless he could revenge Mania. Midias prepared to support himself by force or intrigue, as circumstances might direct. He had secured Gergis and Scepsis, fortified towns in which Mania's treasures were deposited : but the other towns of the province, with one consent, refusing to acknowledge his authority, adhered to Pharnabazus.

s. 13.

Dercyllidas arrived upon the borders in this critical conjuncture. The satrap was unprepared ; the Lacedæmonian name was popular ; and the towns of

Larissa, Hamaxitus, and Colonæ, in one day opened their gates. A declaration was then circulated, that the purpose of Dercyllidas and the Lacedæmonian government was to give perfect independency to the Æolian cities; desiring only alliance defensive and offensive, with quarters for the army within their walls whenever it might become requisite in that service whose object was the common liberty of all Grecian people. The garrisons were composed mostly of Greeks; attached to Mania, but indifferent to the interest of Pharnabazus.<sup>2</sup> The towns of Neandrus, Ilium, and Cocylus acceded to the Spartan general's invitation. Hope of large reward for his fidelity induced the go-  
Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 1. s. 14—16.  
 vernor of Cebren to adhere to the satrap; but, upon the approach of the army, the people soon compelled him to surrender.

Dercyllidas then marched toward Scepsis. The assassin Midias, fearful, at the same time, of the Spartan general, the Persian satrap, and the Scepsian citizens, conceived his best hope to lie in accommodation with the former. He proposed a conference, to which Dercyllidas consented, and, ten principal men, of different cities, being sent to him as hostages, he went to the Grecian camp. Desiring to know upon what conditions he might be admitted to friendship and alliance, Dercyllidas answered, upon condition of allowing freedom and independency to the towns in which he had garrisons. But the march to Scepsis was not interrupted. Dercyllidas entered the town unopposed, ordered the garrison to quit the citadel, and  
s. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Καὶ γὰρ οἱ φρουροῦντες Ἕλληνες ἐν αὐταῖς (ταῖς πόλεσιν), ἐπεὶ ἡ Μανία ἀπέθανεν, οὐ πᾶν τι καλῶς περιείποντο. — *Quia post mortem Maniæ, præsidarii Græci non admodum erga eos (cives urbium prædict.) rectè se gesserant.* I have no scruple in giving the very different interpretation in the text. Smith, whose version differs here from both, is far from compensating, in his Xenophon as in his Thucydides, for extreme inelegance by a general exactness of literal translation.

then, assembling the people, directed them to assume the government as became Greeks and freemen. He then proceeded to Gergis, taking Midias with him. Intelligence of his liberality to the Scepsians had prepared his reception, and Midias acquiesced. Acquitting himself then of that miscreant, by restoring all his private property, with liberal allowance for all his claims, he seized the wealth of Mania, as now belonging to the satrap, the common enemy; and it was his boast, a grateful boast to the army, that he had enriched the military chest with a twelvemonth's pay for eight thousand men.

Xen. Hel. i. 3.  
c. 2. s. 1.

Having thus, according to Xenophon's expression, in eight days, taken nine cities, (that is, having recovered from the Persian dominion nine towns accustomed each to its separate and independent government, except as it might be occasionally compelled to obey the commands of a master,) it became the consideration of Dercyllidas how to preserve their territories against the ravages of the Persian cavalry, without burthening the people by quartering his army among them. Against their walls he little feared the efforts of Persian arms. He was more apprehensive of the licentiousness, difficult to control, of a republican army in quarters, and of complaints at Lacedæmon, like those which had driven his predecessor into exile. He sent proposals of truce therefore to Pharnabazus. That generous satrap, unassisted from the capital of the empire, and deserted and betrayed by the great neighbouring officer, whose more peculiar duty it was to afford him assistance, readily accepted them. Xenophon indeed says, that he was little disturbed with the loss of Æolia; esteeming that province, under Lacedæmonian protection, while he had himself peace with Lacedæmon, rather a useful barrier against other enemies. The meaning of this apparently is to be collected only from what follows. The Bithynians,

though as tributary subjects of the empire he had assisted them against the Cyrean army, were always licentious, sometimes perhaps rebellious, and they frequently carried hostile depredation among the more peaceful and settled inhabitants of his satrapy. Among these people Dercyllidas Xen. Hel. 1. 3. c. 2. s. 2. resolved to take his winter quarters, as in a hostile territory, and Pharnabazus expressed no dissatisfaction.

That country must be naturally very productive in which, under the management of such a people as those Bithynians who have been on a former occasion described, an army, powerful enough to overbear opposition, could supply itself by plunder through the winter, plentifully, and without hazard. That the army of Dercyllidas did so we are assured by Xenophon, who seems to have subsisted from that plunder much to his own satisfaction. Such successful freebooting allured a body of Odrysians, subjects of Seuthes, from European Thrace. Two hundred horse and three hundred targeteers<sup>3</sup> came as allies of Lacedæmon to reinforce Dercyllidas. They took their station between two and three miles from the Grecian army, and, throwing up a slight fortification, requested a Grecian guard for it, to enable them to maraud in greater force. Dercyllidas allowing them two hundred heavy-armed, they exerted themselves in depredation with such skilful diligence that shortly their camp was filled with booty, a large portion of which consisted of prisoners, whom they proposed to sell for slaves.

The Bithynians, unable or fearful to resist these plunderers, were however attentive to their motions ; and having observed the smallness of their camp, and learnt the amount of its guard, resolved to take opportunity of their absence for attacking it. Assembling accordingly in great numbers,

<sup>3</sup> Error may perhaps reasonably be suspected in these numbers. They seem too scanty for what we shall find was effected ; especially if we compare it with what the Cyreans suffered in the same country.

horse and foot, and watching the march of the Odrysians to a sufficient distance, they made their assault. Their missile weapons so reached every part of the small enclosure that the Greeks were unable to withstand them. Fifteen only made their way through the irregular assailants, and reached their own camp; the rest were killed. The Bithynians then broke into the Odrysian camp, recovered their prisoners and effects, killed all the tent-keepers <sup>4</sup>, and retired so rapidly that the Greek army, marching as soon as intelligence of the assault reached them, found nothing but naked corpses.

The funeral ceremony of their dead occupied the Odrysians on their return. It was graced with games, as among the Greeks of Homer's age; but the favourite game of the Odrysians, less known to the father of poetry, was the simple horse-race. Large quantities of wine were also drunk over the graves; a practice spread, perhaps among descendants of the Odrysians, over the distant island of Britain, and preserved to this day equally among the rugged mountains of Scotland, farthest north, and on the soft hills of Wight, severed by the tide from the southern coast. Providing then for the future security of their camp, by pitching it close to the Grecian, the Odrysians no longer contented themselves with plunder, but carried revenge by fire and sword extensively through Bithynia.

B. C. 397.  
Ol. 95. 3.  
[B. C. 398.  
Cl.]

In spring Dercyllidas led the army to Lampsacus. He had carried command in a manner so superior to his predecessor that, instead of complaint, report had been transmitted to Lacedæmon so favourable that, against the general rule, he was continued a second year in his situation. In Lampsacus he found commissioners sent to notify that honour to him, and to commu-

nicate the commendations of the ephors to the army; particularly for its regular and inoffensive conduct among the allied cities. They came authorised moreover to inspect the state both of the army and of the allies. Dercyllidas gladly forwarded them to witness the peace and prosperity which Æolis and Ionia enjoyed under his superintendency, and to hear the grateful testimonies of a happy people to his ability, probity, and diligence.

Since he had been in Asia Dercyllidas had fought no great battle, nor taken any town by assault; but, in an army which, under his predecessor, had been so lawless as to be a terror more to friends than enemies, he had restored exact discipline, and yet was the favourite of that army. With that army then he had awed the two great satraps, each commanding a province equal to a powerful kingdom, and both together acting under the mightiest empire in the world; so that, after having given independency and security to the long line of Ionian and Æolian colonies, he could direct his views another way for the benefit of the Grecian name.

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 2. s. 6.

The Thracian Chersonese, once the principality of the renowned Miltiades, lately, in large proportion, the property of another great and singular character, Alcibiades, and by its fertility, its many harbours, and its advantageous situation for trade, always a great object for industrious adventurers from Greece, was however always subject to dreadful incursions from the wild hordes of Thracians, who made it their glory to live by rapine. Alcibiades, maintaining a military force for the defence of his property, and extending the advantage of its protection to the Grecian settlers generally, seems to have held a degree of dominion among them. Perhaps Clearchus, forbidden, as we have seen, by the Lacedæmonian administration, but enabled, by the bounty

of Cyrus, to become their next protector, aspired to similar dominion. Before the return of the Cyrean army however the Lacedæmonian administration had so far directed their attention to the Chersonese as to have sent a governor thither, with their usual title of harmost; but, either he had been withdrawn, or the force intrusted to him, or his ability to use it, was deficient; for the Thracian inroads were renewed, and so successfully that the Chersonesites, in a petition to Lacedæmon for protection, declared that, unless it were granted, they must abandon the country. Dercyllidas, informed of this, before orders could come to himself from Lacedæmon, or another could be sent with the commission, resolved to execute the service. He sent to Pharnabazus a proposal for prolonging the existing truce, which was immediately accepted; and, having so far provided tranquillity for Asia, he transported his army to the European shore. Immediately he visited the Thracian prince Seuthes, by whom he was very hospitably entertained; and having arranged, apparently to his satisfaction, those matters in which his commonwealth and that prince had a common concern, he marched to the Chersonese. There he employed his army, not in plunder and destruction, but in raising a rampart across the isthmus, to secure the peace of the rich country and industrious people within. The isthmus is only four miles over; the peninsula contained eleven considerable towns, many harbours, rich land under various cultivation, arable, vineyard, fruit-plantations, spacious pastures adapted to every kind of cattle, and still considerable tracts which might be allotted to new colonists. The possessors of this valuable territory were unequal to its defence; because, for its cultivation, they used principally the industry of slaves, whom they dared not trust with arms. The work of Dercyllidas enabled

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 2. s. 7, 8.  
Diod. 1. 14.  
c. 39.



them to become their own protectors. Begun in spring, it was completed before autumn <sup>5</sup>, and the army was reconveyed into Asia. Dercyllidas then made a progress through the Asiatic cities, to inspect the state of things, and had the satisfaction to find everywhere peace, prosperity, and general content.

B. C. 397.  
Ol. 95. 4.  
[B. C. 398. Cl.]  
Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 2. s. 9.

A single exception will deserve notice, as it tends to illustrate the political circumstances of the country, and manners resulting from them. With governments so imperfect, and territories so narrow, as those of the Grecian republics, so liable to intestine commotion, so open to foreign attack, peace and civil order could be secure only under the strong control of a superintending power, which had been lodged, fortunately, for a time in honest and able hands. Thus the condition of the Asian Greeks, in the confession of that honest eulogist of democracy, Herodotus, was improved by their reduction under the Persian empire, after their rebellion against the first Darius. In the want of such a superintending power faction had now expelled a number of Chians from their island. Men driven from their homes and possessions to vagrancy, beggary, and starving, sometimes in numbers amounting almost to half the free population of a republic, would be likely to resort to violent expedients. The first thing to look out for was subsistence; and, while necessity drove, allurements sometimes invited to marauding as a profession. The Chian exiles seized Atarneus, a strong post on the continent, over-against their island; and the produce of the rich Ionian fields, cultivated by unarmed slaves for unwarlike masters, became in large proportion theirs. When Dercyllidas came to the protection of the Ionians, the Chian exiles had collected provisions for eight months. He formed the blockade of their

<sup>5</sup> Πρὸ ὁπώρου.

hold, too strong for the art of attack of that age to reduce by any other mode of siege. While their provisions served, they resisted; and then, by their submission, the tranquillity of Ionia and Æolia became complete.

But, while the cities of those provinces, prospering and happy, and administering each its own affairs under the able and benign superintendency of Dercyllidas, enjoyed, for the present, the blessings of freedom, those of Caria had to complain that their interests had been neglected, that they had been disappointed even of a promised relief, and that the treaty, concluded with Tissaphernes, was an express compact for their continuance in subjection to a foreign dominion. The sea being open to them, they could communicate with Lacedæmon, and they sent to request that their situation might not be overlooked by the vindicators of the liberties of Greece. Were the Lacedæmonian arms carried into Caria, they said, Tissaphernes, to save his own large property there, would readily grant the independency, so necessary to their happiness, and so desirable for the glory of the Grecian, and especially of the Lacedæmonian name. The ephors seem too lightly to have yielded to their arguments, without communication with their able commander, or with any others duly acquainted with the circumstances of Asia. They sent orders for war to be carried into Caria; for the army under Dercyllidas to march thither; and for the fleet, then commanded by Pharax, to co-operate with it.

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 2. s. 10.

B. C. 396.  
Ol. 95. 4.  
Spring.  
[B. C. 397. CL]

The first effect of these ill-concerted measures appears to have been to produce, or at least to hasten, a union between the two satraps, Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus; whose long variance had, in no small degree, contributed to those great successes which the Greeks, with a force otherwise inadequate to contention with the Persian empire, had

been enabled to obtain. Pharnabazus, unsupported by the court of Susa, and basely deserted, or worse than deserted, by Tissaphernes, his immediate superior in command, had acquiesced under the loss of Æolia. But, as soon as the threatened attack of Caria afforded a probability that Tissaphernes would be disposed to change his conduct, Pharnabazus went to him, and declared his readiness to co-operate zealously in measures for driving the Greeks out of Asia. This proposal, to which the jealousy and pusillanimity of Tissaphernes otherwise would scarcely have listened, was made acceptable by the indiscreet violence of the Spartan government. The two satraps went together into Caria, and, having arranged matters for the defence of that country, returned to take the command of an army which threatened Ionia with destruction.

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 2. s. 11.

Ibid. Diod.  
1. 14. c. 40.

Dercyllidas was already marching for Caria, when information reached him that all his hitherto successful labours for the welfare of the colonies were upon the point of being rendered utterly vain. He consulted Pharax, and they ventured together to disobey their ill-judged instructions. Returning hastily northward, Dercyllidas met intelligence that the satraps had already entered the Ephesian territory. He was pushing his march through the rich vale of the Mæander, in whose luxuriant soil the growth of corn commonly exceeds a man's height, when some of his advanced guard, mounting on some tombs by the road-side, (for the road-side was the place of burial among Greeks as well as Romans,) discovered the Persian army in order of battle. Immediately he gave orders for forming; but, while he attended the sacrifice which the Lacedæmonians held indispensable before action, numbers of his Asian Greeks left their arms in the corn, and fled;

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 2. s. 12.

B. C. 396.  
Ol. 95. 3.  
May ending,  
or June beginning.  
[B. C. 397.  
Cl.]

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 2. s. 13.

and it became evident that his dependence must be upon his small force of European troops alone.

In these alarming circumstances the interested pusillanimity of Tissaphernes relieved him. Pharnabazus was desirous of engaging; but Tissaphernes, already more than half satisfied, since his property in Caria was no longer in immediate danger, would first try the effect of a conference. A herald was accordingly sent to the Grecian general. Dercyllidas, anxious to prevent observation of the state of his army, advanced with a chosen escort. Such then being the circumstances that both parties were desirous to avoid a battle, it was presently agreed, that the Greek army should march to Leucophrys, the Persian to Tralles, and that a place should be appointed where the generals should next day meet. The conference being held accordingly, Dercyllidas insisted on the simple proposition, "that all Grecian cities should be independent." To this the satraps consented, with the conditions, "that the Grecian army should quit the king's territory," (by which seems to have been meant Asia, including the Grecian colonies,) "and that the Lacedæmonian governors should quit the Grecian towns." Upon these terms a truce was concluded, to hold till the pleasure of the king and of the Lacedæmonian government could be known.

This was the first treaty, reported on any authentic or even probable testimony, by which, since the early times of the Lydian monarchy, it was provided that the Asian Greeks should be completely emancipated from foreign dominion. All the Ionian and Æolian cities, it appears, thus gained immediate enjoyment of independency in peace: the Carian seem to have waited the confirmation of the treaty by the king of Persia and the Lacedæmonian government. But it was a quiet revolution: no great battle gave it splendour; none of those striking events attended which invite the

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 2. s. 14.

s. 15.

attention of the writer in proportion as they are fitted to impress the fancy of the reader. It forms nevertheless a memorable and interesting era in Grecian history; and the fame of Dercyllidas, less brilliant, but far purer, than that of most of the great men of Greece, though, being recorded by the pen of Xenophon, it is indeed secured against perishing, yet deserves to have been more generally and more pointedly noticed, than we find it, by writers whose theme has been Grecian history, or panegyric of the Grecian character.<sup>6</sup>

We have from Diodorus an account, which may deserve notice, of the manner in which the affairs of Lacedæmon were administered, in its colony of the Trachinian Heraclea. It was when Dercyllidas was sent to command in Asia that the superintendency of Heraclea was committed to Herippidas. The colony, in the usual way of the Grecian cities, had been distracted by faction. Herippidas summoned a general assembly, in which persons of all parties met; apparently in some confidence that the representative of the presiding commonwealth of Greece would administer justice in mercy to all. But he took a more summary method for restoring quiet than could easily consist with justice. Surrounding the place of meeting with an armed force, he seized five hundred of those supposed adverse to the Lacedæmonian interest, or to the interest of that party in Lacedæmon with which he was connected, and they were all put to death. We shall give credit to report from Diodorus, always in proportion to its consonance with the accounts of writers of best judgment, contemporary, or

Diod. l. 14.  
c. 39.

<sup>6</sup> — Πρώτηρον δὲ διὰ Θίμβρωνος, εἴτα διὰ Δερκυλίδου πολεμοῦντες (οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι), οὐδὲν δὲ πράττοντες ἀξιόλογον. — Plut. vit. Artax. p. 1867. t. 3. Plutarch had either forgotten what he had read in Xenophon, or, with his usual deficiency of judgment in military and political affairs, very much mis-estimated the merit of Dercyllidas; and modern historians seem to have neglected the informed and able contemporary, who was a witness to the fact, to follow the speculator of some centuries after.

most nearly so, with the transactions; and his account here is but too much in consonance with all that we learn on best authority. After this military execution upon an unresisting people, Herippidas marched against the rude inhabitants of the neighbouring highlands of Œta, who had rebelled against the Lacedæmonian sovereignty. He was so successful as to compel the whole free population to emigrate. They withdrew first into Thessaly, but afterward removed into Bœotia; invited by circumstances not specified to us, yet among which may be reckoned a disposition adverse to Lacedæmon in the leading party there, and the purpose of acquiring strength to resist Lacedæmon.

## SECTION II.

*War of Lacedæmon and Elis. — Death of Agis, king of Lacedæmon, and Succession of Agesilaus. — Sedition in Lacedæmon.*

FORMERLY the institutions of Lycurgus had sufficed to enforce very generally among the Lacedæmonians that modesty in command which, united with dignity of manner, contempt of wealth, and superiority in military and political knowledge, induced the Grecian republics, conscious of the necessity for general quiet of admitting some superintending power, to yield a willing obedience to them. But, in the long and wide course of the Peloponnesian war, communication with strangers, unavoidably much greater than the institutions of Lycurgus would approve, together with the necessity of raising and employing a public revenue, far greater than ever entered into the legislator's contemplation, had altered and corrupted Spartan manners; so that, when the war was at length concluded so happily in their favour, they were no longer capable of bearing their high fortune. We have seen, in the account of Xenophon, their friend and panegyrist,

what plenitude of power their officers in transmarine commands assumed, and with what haughty tyranny they exercised it. Unquestionably it must have been far other conduct that established that reputation of Lacedæmon, which had led united Greece to refuse obedience to any but a Lacedæmonian commander, even in naval war against the Persians, though Lacedæmon contributed so very small a proportion to the national fleet; which led the rich Sicilian cities to union under a Lacedæmonian general, bringing no force with him but the splendour of the Lacedæmonian name; it must have been far other conduct which, at the Olympian and other national meetings, as Isocrates says, made every Lacedæmonian more an object of general curiosity and admiration than the victors in the games; which in short established, through the Greek nation, a respect for the Lacedæmonian character, such as never perhaps was paid to that of any other people.

Ch. 8. s. 4.  
of this Hist.

Ch. 18. s. 5—8.  
of this Hist.

Isocr. Archid.  
p. 76. t. 2.

Of the circumstances which, so soon after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, introduced discord again among the Grecian cities, and excited opposition to Lacedæmon where it might least have been expected, our information is very defective. From the following occurrences only we gather, in some degree, the cause of that disgust and alienation which we have already seen manifested in the conduct of Thebes and Corinth. Thebes claimed sovereignty over the other towns of Bœotia. Lacedæmon favoured the claim of those towns to be independent of Thebes, with the purpose of holding them in dependence upon herself. Perhaps some haughty and ungracious interference of Lacedæmon, raising extensive dissatisfaction in Thebes, had afforded that advantage to the democratical leaders which enabled them to gain the ascendant over the aristocratical party, always in some degree

Ch. 21. s. 3.  
of this Hist.

the Lacedæmonian party, and so long the ruling party in that city. The success of the democratical party in Thebes would of course raise hope and energy in that of Corinth, which always held friendly communication with the democratical state of Argos. It seems to have been with the support of Argos and Thebes that democracy gained ascendancy in Corinth; insomuch that the two cities which had been the principal allies of Lacedæmon, throughout the Peloponnesian war, became alienated almost immediately after its conclusion.

But Lacedæmon itself was distracted by faction, and its administration consequently unsteady. So much is clearly indicated by the circumstances which led to the restoration of the Athenian democracy; and hence, while among the Asiatic cities, as Xenophon says, every one obeyed whatever any Lacedæmonian commanded, the cities of Greece ventured resistance to the most formal orders of the Lacedæmonian government. It does not appear that any measures were immediately taken, in resentment, either for the protection afforded by Thebes to Athenian fugitives, of the party most inimical to Lacedæmon, or for the refusal of both Thebes and Corinth to obey requisitions which the treaty of confederacy authorised. A nearer interest, or one which more affected the feelings of the Lacedæmonian people, drew their attention.

In that system, if it may be so called, by which the various members of the Greek nation were in some degree held together, we find a strange mixture of undefined, and sometimes repugnant claims, more or less generally admitted. While the Lacedæmonians presided, with authority far too little defined, over the political and military affairs of Greece, the Eleans asserted a prescriptive right to a kind of religious supremacy, also too little defined; universally allowed nevertheless, in a certain degree, but, like the Lacedæmonian



supremacy, not always to the extent to which the claimants pretended. In the schism of Peloponnesus, which occurred during the Peloponnesian war, we have seen the imperial state of Lacedæmon summoned to the Elean tribunal, as one of our corporations might be summoned to our courts at Westminster; a fine imposed, its citizens interdicted the common games and sacrifices of the nation, an opprobrious punishment publicly inflicted upon an aged and respectable Spartan, who, but by implication, offended against the Elean decrees; and, finally, these measures supported by avowed hostilities, and alliance with the enemies of Sparta. The necessity of the times induced the Lacedæmonians to make peace with these affronts unrevenged; but their smothered resentment had been revived and increased by what they esteemed a new indignity. Before the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, Agis king of Lacedæmon had been sent, in pursuance of a supposed prophetic direction, to perform a sacrifice to Jupiter at Olympia. The Eleans forbade the ceremony, alleging that, according to ancient law, no oracle should be consulted for success in wars between Greeks and Greeks, and they would allow no prayer for victory in such a war. There is a beneficence, a liberal and extended patriotism in this idea, so consonant to the spirit with which Iphitus is said to have founded the Olympian festival, and so opposite to the tenets afterward generally prevailing in Greece, that they seem to mark the law for ancient and genuine. The Lacedæmonians however were not the less offended with the Eleans for bringing forward, upon such an occasion, what, if those maxims only were considered which had prevailed through succeeding ages, it must be confessed would carry much the appearance of a complete novelty.

The judgment passed against the Lacedæmonians and the fine imposed, the interdiction

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 2. s. 16.

s. 17.

of the games, the punishment of Lichas, the confederacy with Athens and Argos, the hostilities ensuing, and finally the refusal of permission for sacrifice at Olympia, are stated by the contemporary historian, as the motives which disposed the Lacedæmonians to war. We gather from him however that others existed; the democratical party at this time governed Elis, and Elis held many towns of Elea in subjection. The Lacedæmonians did not absolutely require oligarchy in every state of Greece; for they had lately permitted the restoration of democracy in Athens; and even their own government had a mixture of democracy: but they always beheld, with peculiar jealousy, dominion exercised by a democratical commonwealth. Urged then at the same time by resentment for past insults, and consideration of a present political interest, the ephors assembled the

people, and it was decreed, "That the Eleans should be chastened," or, as the historian's single word may be explained, "should be compelled to a conduct better regulated by prudence and modesty."<sup>8</sup>

In pursuance of this resolution, ministers were sent to Elis with a declaration "That the Lacedæmonians deemed it just and proper that the towns held in subjection by the Eleans be restored to independency." The Eleans, alleging the right of conquest, refused to resign their sovereignty; and upon this the ephors ordered the king, Agis, to march into their country. The usual ravage of Grecian armies

<sup>7</sup> Diodorus ascribes the beginning of the Elean war to the third year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, B. C. 401. Dodwell places it in the fourth. But it appears to me that Dodwell is thus inconsistent with Xenophon, and even with himself. For the Elean war was concluded early in the third year after its commencement. The death of Agis followed in the same summer; and it does not appear, nor does Dodwell say, that there was any considerable interval before the determination in favour of Agesilaus, of whose succession he says, "Hoc certe hujus Olympiadis xcv. anno 4;" that is, after midsummer, B. C. 397. [See pp. 299, 300.]

<sup>8</sup> *Σωφρονίσαι αὐτούς.*

presently followed, but an earthquake, imagined a divine admonition, alarming the aged prince and his superstitious people, they retired out of Elea, and the troops were dismissed to their several homes.

Whether as marking the favour of the gods or the weakness of their enemies, this conduct greatly encouraged the Eleans. In either view it improved the hope of gaining to their cause many Grecian states, known to be disaffected toward Lacedæmon. But if the Lacedæmonian sovereignty was tyrannical, theirs apparently was not less so; and while they were cherishing the hope of foreign assistance, they did not take wiser precautions than other Grecian states for securing the attachment of their subjects. In the next spring Agis again entered Elea with an army to which all the allies had contributed, excepting Corinth and Bœotia. Immediately Lepreum revolted to him; Macistus and Epitalium quickly followed the example; and these were imitated, as he advanced into the country, by Leprine, Amphidolia, and Marganeæ. In this defection of their towns, the Eleans were utterly unable to face the Lacedæmonian army in the field. Agis proceeded Xen. Hel. 1. 3. c. 2. s. 19. unopposed to Olympia, and sacrificed, now un-

forbidden, on the altar of Jupiter. The territories of the revolting towns of course had been spared; but rapine and devastation marked the way from Olympia to Elis, whither the king next directed his march. Nor did the country suffer only from the conquering army. The opportunity of freebooting invited the neighbouring Arcadians and Achæans; and slaves and cattle and corn were carried off to such an amount that all the markets of Peloponnesus were glutted with Elean plunder. It was supposed that Agis would not, rather than that he could not, take Elis itself, which was unfortified. After destroying many fair buildings of the outskirts he proceeded to Cyllene, the principal sea-

port of the Eleans, and ravage was extended from the mountains to the sea.

Occasion has already frequently occurred to remark, that scarcely any misfortune could befall a Grecian state which would not bring advantage, or at least the hope of advantage, to some considerable portion of its subjects.

*Xen. Hel. l. 3.  
c. 2. s. 20.*

The aristocratical party in Elis, oppressed by the demagogue Thrasydæus, looked to the present sufferings of their country as the means of relief; but with no better consideration of any political or moral principle than might have guided the wildest savages, or the most profligate among the lowest populace in civilised nations. They proposed to assassinate Thrasydæus, with a few of his confidential friends; and then, in the name of the commonwealth, to open a negotiation with Lacedæmon. The people, they trusted, deprived of their leader, and dreading the arms of the Lacedæmonians, would acquiesce; and thus the principal power in the state would of course come into their hands. The plot failed through a mistake, by which another was murdered for Thrasydæus. The people however, supposing their favourite killed, rested in silent dejection: but, while the conspirators were arming, and stationing their party, the demagogue awoke, where drunkenness and supervening sleep had over-night checked his way. The people immediately flocked about him; a battle followed, and the conspirators, overpowered, fled to the Lacedæmonian camp.

The conduct of the war was such as we have so often seen in Greece. When plunder no longer remained to employ the Lacedæmonian army profitably, Agis  
s. 21. marched home, leaving only a garrison in Epitalium on the Alpheus, where he established the Elean fugitives. Hence rapine was occasionally prosecuted through the autumn and winter. Elis could not, like Athens, support itself under the continual ravage of its territory. In

spring therefore Thrasydæus opened a negotiation with Lacedæmon, and at once offered the independency of all the towns over which the Eleans claimed sovereignty by right of conquest; proposing only to keep Epium, whose territory they had purchased from the inhabitants for thirty talents fairly paid. The Lacedæmonians however, considering, or affecting to consider, the purchase as forced, required that Epium should be free like the rest. The disposition thus apparent in the Lacedæmonians to depress Elis, encouraged the villagers of the Pisan territory to assert their claim to the superintendency of the Olympian temple, violently taken from their ancestors, as they contended, by the Eleans, when their city was destroyed. But, whatever might have been the ancient right, the Lacedæmonian administration, thinking those uneducated pretenders unfit for an office of much solemnity and dignity in the eyes of all Greece, would not interfere. Upon the condition therefore that every town of Elea should be, as a free republic, a separate member of the Lacedæmonian confederacy, which was, in effect, to be subjects of Lacedæmon, peace was made; and Elis, according to the Lacedæmonian decree preceding the war, humbled and chastened, was itself also restored to its place in that confederacy.

The imputation of impiety, under which the Lacedæmonians began the war, perhaps urged them to a more ostentatious display of respect for the gods at the end of it. Agis himself was deputed to offer, at Delphi, the tenth of the spoil. In his return, he was taken ill at Heræa, and he died soon after his arrival at Lacedæmon. In the magnificence of his funeral the Lacedæmonians probably meant also to exhibit their own piety, as well as to testify their opinion of the

B. C. 397.  
Ol. 95. 3.  
[B. C. 399. Cl.  
See p. 278.]

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 2. s. 22.

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 3. s. 1.

B. C. 397.  
Ol. 95. 4.  
After Midsummer. [B. C.  
398. Cl.\*]

[\* Mr. Clinton computes that Agis commenced his reign early in the year

deceased prince's merit. They failed however in their estimate of the prevailing prejudices of the Grecian people. Honour to the gods indeed was supposed to be best shown, and religion principally to consist, in pompous processions and expensive spectacles; but general opinion condemned the splendour of the funeral of Agis, as greater than could become the most illustrious mortal.

Circumstances occurring since the Peloponnesian war have not shown the Spartan constitution very well adapted to extensive empire; and those brought forward by the death of Agis will not give any very favourable impression of its interior system. Agis left a reputed son, Leotychides, Xen. Hel. 1. 3. c. 3. s. 2. Plut. vit. Ages. init. whom however he had been known to disown; and even his queen Timæa was reported to have declared that her adulterous commerce with Alcibiades had given birth to the child. Against the claim of this dubious prince, Agesilaus, half-brother of Agis (the latter being son of Archidamus by Lamprido, the former by Eupolia), had the support of Lysander, the conqueror of Athens, who stood at the head of a powerful party. Agesilaus, many years younger than Agis, and yet in the vigour of youth<sup>a</sup>, was lame. The partisans of Leotychides hence took occasion to urge, against his pretension, the authority of an ancient oracle, which admonished the Lacedæmonians "to beware of halting royalty." Lysander answered this objection to his friend by a different interpretation of the oracle. Such absurdity, he insisted, was not intended by the god as to admonish men to provide that a man should never be lame; the purpose of the divine admonition was to guard the succession in the posterity of Hercules; and then only royalty would truly halt when a man not of the

B. C. 426. Fasti Hellen. p. 211. col. 2.; and that he reigned twenty-eight years, p. 212. col. 2.]

<sup>a</sup> Ἀγησίλαος τοῖνυν ἔτι μὲν νέος ὢν ἔτυχεν τῆς βασιλείας. Xen. Agesil. init.

royal line should ascend the throne. When we find a discussion of such importance related by the pen of Xenophon, and when we know that two at least of the persons interested, Agesilaus and Lysander, were able and great men, we should impute perhaps to change of circumstances and manners the difficulty we have to discover any dignity, almost any decency, or even common sense, in the proceedings. Leaving them therefore for readers whom curiosity may induce to consult the contemporary historian, suffice it here to say that, by the votes of the general assembly of the Lacedæmonians, it was decided that Agesilaus should reign.

Athens, in the age of which we are treating, is nearly as well known to us as our own country, two hundred years ago. The remaining works of historians, orators, lawyers, poets, and philosophers give almost every information we could desire. But about Lacedæmon we are much in the dark. The Lacedæmonians wrote no books, published no speeches, discountenanced the residence of foreigners among them, and made secrecy in matters of government a maxim, not only of their policy, but of their religion. We know the Lacedæmonians therefore almost only in foreign command. With the prerogatives of their kings, which were principally exercised in foreign command, we are well acquainted; but of the proper authority of the ephors, of the senate, of the people, of the lesser assembly, composed apparently of the citizens of Lacedæmon only, of the greater assembly, in which all Laconians, by themselves or deputies, seem to have had voices, we learn little. Something of the state of parties becomes occasionally discovered through its connection with foreign politics. But internal transactions, gradual revolutions in laws, manners, and politics, and those deviations from the system of Lycurgus which length of time and great changes in the circumstances of the commonwealth

had produced, conquests, foreign connections, extensive power, more extensive influence, the various communication of the people, in command and in negotiation, in war and in peace, the avowed introduction of public wealth for the maintenance of fleets and armies, the surreptitious acquisitions of individuals by the various means which foreign service afforded, and, what was not least in importance, the accumulation of property in the hands of individual citizens through inheritance from females, of all these matters we have but very obscure information. All accounts of the system of Lycurgus indicate that he allowed no distinction of rank or privileges but from age or merit. But, in the course of centuries, a very material distinction had arisen. The families peculiarly named Spartans, and distinguished also by the title of PEERS<sup>10</sup>, had engrossed almost the whole power of the commonwealth. The rest of the people, included under the general name of Lacedæmonians, or the still more extensive appellation of Lacons or Laconians, including the Priæcians, were never admitted to the higher offices, civil or military. So early as the age of Xerxes we find a great distinction; for, in the army which fought under Pausanias, at the celebrated battle of Plataea, every Spartan

was attended by seven Helots, every other Lacedæmonian by only one. The Spartans in that army were, according to Herodotus, five thousand, and the

Lacedæmonians only an equal number. But, never admitting any new associates to their order, as Spartan families became extinct their numbers lessened, and in Xenophon's time were so reduced that, in Sparta itself, they were but a small part of the population; or at least of the numbers occasionally assembled there.

It is however, evident, from all accounts of Lacedæmonian

Herodot.  
l. 9. c. 29.

Xen. Hel. l. 3.  
c. 3. s. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Τῶν Ὀμοίων. Xen. Hel. l. 3. c. 3. s. 5.



affairs, that from the age of Lycurgus till toward the period to which we are now arrived, the distinction of ranks in Lacedæmon was less invidious than in any other Grecian state: the whole body of the people was better amalgamated; and the factions, known by several names, yet marking nearly the same distinctions, the rich and the poor, the nobles and the commons, the few and the many, which divided every other Grecian republic, are there little heard of.<sup>11</sup> But it appears that even the ephors, a magistracy said to have been originally established to watch and protect the rights of the people at large, were always appointed from among the Spartans only. And it seems probable that, after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, when, through the vast acquisition of power made by Lacedæmon, new and great temptations offered for coveting high office, while at the same time the services of the body of the people were less necessary to those in authority, the Spartans, or peers, began to set a wider distinction between

<sup>11</sup> It by no means however follows that slaves, or those known of servile origin, were admitted, as Barthelemi pretends (c. 42. p. 103. vol. 4. ed. 80.), to the first honours of the state. The attention with which Barthelemi has studied the able writers of the republican times should have sufficed to make him distrust the assertion of so late an author as Ælian, not made in the clearest terms, that Callicratidas, Gylippus, and Lysander were of neodamode families. From the contemporary writers it very sufficiently appears that, in their age, none such could arrive at the high stations which they filled. Though occasion has occurred to mention the matter in a former note (ch. 20. sect. 2. note 4.), yet, as Barthelemi's authority is esteemed high, it may not be superfluous to add here some observations. Herodotus has commemorated the first strangers known to have been admitted to the privileges of Spartans; and it was not forty years after that Cleandridas, father of Gylippus, occupied the exalted office of regent. Gylippus himself was chosen for the Sicilian command, not more for his abilities than for his rank. His known dignity of Spartan blood was the very circumstance proposed to induce the deference of the Sicilians to his authority; and, for Lysander, Barthelemi himself has in another place taken the account of Plutarch, who says he was of a Heraclidean family. (Anach. v. 4. p. 285.) Barthelemi is in general little careful to distinguish the different practices of distant ages, when the Grecian cities were in widely different circumstances; and he quotes, with far too much indifference, the highest authorities and the lowest, — Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, and Hesychius, Julius Pollux, or Suidas.

themselves and others, to assume authority with less reserve, and exercise it with less discretion.

Agésilas had not yet been a year on the throne when the invidious distinctions, which had been growing in the Lacedæmonian state, and the impolitic conduct of those peculiarly called Spartans, gave rise to a plot for a complete change of government, for the accomplishment of which kings, ephors, and senate were to be assassinated. The leader, Cinadon, a young man, already placed, by birth and talents, above the crowd, was indignant to be excluded, by arbitrary distinctions, from the possibility of still advancing himself. To engage those of his own rank in his views it was his practice to desire them to count the Spartans in the full agora. They would be, beside the kings, the ephors, and the senate, perhaps forty, while the Lacedæmonians, ruled by these, and denied the means of admission to high office, were more than four thousand. He desired them then to

*Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 3. s. 6.*

advert to the state of the towns and villages of Laconia; and in each they would find one master, and many friends: apparently meaning one Spartan magistrate, with many Laconians, like themselves, excluded from Spartan honours. All the Helots, all the newly-admitted citizens, the lower people of the capital, and the people of the provincial towns universally, he proceeded, would be of their party; for all these, it was known, whenever the subject occurred in conversation, were unable to conceal their detestation of the Spartans.

*s. 8, 9, 10.*

This conspiracy being indicated by one of the associates, the ephors were so doubtful of the disposition of the people of Sparta itself that they feared to apprehend Cinadon there: they feared to summon even the lesser assembly. Consulting only with some of the senators, they sent Cinadon, on pretence of public service, with a

small command, to the frontiers. There he was arrested, and the names of his principal accomplices being drawn from him, their persons were secured before any discovery was suspected. Cinadon being asked what was his object in the plot, answered, "Not to be inferior to others in Lacedæmon." He was executed, together with his principal accomplices, with torture and public ignominy. Sedition was thus daunted, and the Spartans, or peers, retained the enjoyment of their exclusive privileges. The means of Xenophon, through his intimacy with Agesilaus and many other Spartans of high rank, to obtain a knowledge of these circumstances, give an authenticity to his detail of them which, in the scantiness of our information concerning the interior transactions of Sparta, make it highly valuable.

Xen. Hel. l. 3.  
c. 3. s. 11. —

### SECTION III.

*Lacedæmonian Government of Subject-allies. — Insult from Thebes. — War renewed with Persia. — First Campaign of Agesilaus in Asia. — Preparations for the second Campaign. — Battle of the Pactolus. — Death of Tissaphernes. — Weakness of the Persian Government.*

DOMESTIC disturbance was thus fortunately obviated, when very serious alarm arose from a foreign quarter. A Syracusan, named Herodas, arrived at Lacedæmon from Phenicia, with intelligence of great preparations in the ports of that country. Many triremes were equipping, many building, many arriving from other maritime provinces of the Persian empire. Rumour went that a fleet of three hundred was to be formed; where to be employed nobody knew; but among orders coming from various great officers, some were from Tissaphernes: whence suspicion arose that Greece, or some of the Grecian settlements, were in view. Herodas, whom mercantile business only had led

B. C. 397.  
Ol. 95. 4.  
Xen. Hel. l. 3.  
c. 4. s. 1.

to Phenicia, anxious to communicate intelligence probably so important to the common welfare of the Greek nation, had taken his departure in the first ship.

This communication made much impression at Lacedæmon. No assurance had yet been received that the treaty, concluded with Tissaphernes by Dercyllidas, had been ratified by the king, or would be ratified. Indeed it could not be supposed very acceptable to him or to his council; and the satrap's faithlessness had been abundantly experienced. There was therefore ample reason to apprehend that the Greek nation, and especially the Asiatic colonies, were the objects of the great armament preparing in the Phenician ports. For the colonies the danger was the greater because, since the departure of Dercyllidas, all there had gone into disorder. Immediately on the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, democratical government had been everywhere abolished by Lysander; who established in every city a council of only ten men, in whose hands he placed the supreme authority. Should entire credit be given to the invective of Athenian orators, it was a most oppressive and degrading tyranny that was universally exercised by those oligarchies. Some exaggeration in their pictures however we may reasonably suppose; and yet the tenor of Grecian history, and many facts reported by Xenophon, too well warrant the belief that, under such governments, unless when power committed to the liberality of a Dercyllidas controlled them, oppression, and gross oppression, would be not uncommon. The Spartan administration nevertheless did not refuse attention to the complaints of the people. Their measures show indeed more liberality than wisdom. Hastily undertaking to legislate for a country with which they were unacquainted, together with the abolition of the Council of Ten, they directed, in general terms, the restoration of the old con-

stitution. Every city was at once torn by the utmost violence of faction. Democracy, such as it had subsisted under the supremacy of Athens, was nowhere completely restored, but universal anarchy ensued.

Confusion thus pervading the subject states, and apprehension of an enemy, so powerful as the Persian empire, agitating Lacedæmon, a congress of the confederacy was summoned. Hostilities had of late years been frequent with one or other of the bordering satraps; but it was long since the force of the Persian empire, united under the direction of its head, had been exerted against Greece, always divided within itself. These were circumstances in which such a man as Lysander would come forward advantageously. Taking a leading part in debate, he was successful in his endeavours to obviate alarm. "Of the superiority of the Greeks by sea," he said, "there could be no reasonable doubt; and of what they were capable by land, against the Persian empire, the late return of the Cyrean army very sufficiently demonstrated. With regard to the disturbances among the Asian Greek cities, it was obvious that a reversal of the measures, which had occasioned the present confusion, would of course restore the former order. He could not hesitate therefore to declare his opinion that the large part of the Greek nation there looking to Lacedæmon for protection, and, for the sake of protection, readily admitting her supremacy, that large part, a kind of outwork necessary to the security of Greece itself, ought to be protected." Since Leotychides, who, with Xanthippus father of Pericles, defeated the army of Xerxes at Mycale, a Spartan king had never crossed the Ægean. Agesilaus, incited by Lysander, now offered himself for the command. He required only thirty Spartans, with two thousand neodamode Lacedæmonians, and six thousand heavy-armed of the allies. His offer encouraged the assembly; the expedition was voted.

Xenophon reports of Agesilaus that, by courting equally ephors, senate, and people, and seeming always anxious to defer to their authority, he obtained a more commanding influence, and more real power, than any of his predecessors for a long time had enjoyed. It seems to have been in pursuance of this policy that he desired the attendance of thirty Spartans. Ten we have seen appointed to attend Agis in an expedition against the Argives, as a controlling council; and this check upon the military authority of the kings, once established, would not be readily remitted. By desiring thirty instead of ten, Agesilaus seemed to pay a compliment to the body of the peers, while he really diminished the consequence of each individual of his council, and perhaps made it easier for himself to rule the whole.

He was not equally happy in his speculations in foreign as in domestic politics, or perhaps he neglected them. An occurrence of a strange nature, far from clearly accounted for by the contemporary historian, his friend, foreboded ill to the peace of Greece while he embarked for Asia. Geræstus in Eubœa was the appointed port where the troops were to assemble. In his way thither, attended by a small escort only, he went to the port of Aulis in Bœotia; and, on account of the fame of that place for the sacrifice of Agamemnon, and the departure of the united forces of Greece for the Trojan war, he made a point of sacrificing there. He was already in the middle of the ceremony when the Bœotarchs, at the head of a considerable force of horse, interfered, rudely scattered the offering from the altar, and peremptorily forbade the sacrifice. Agesilaus, surprised and incensed, but unable to resist, imprecated the vengeance of the gods upon the Bœotians for the impious violence. Possibly the Bœotians may have esteemed the attempt of the Spartan king an impious intrusion. Evidently he had been deficient in precaution, and they appear to have been brutal,

either in insult or in resentment. In the moment nothing seems to have followed: Agesilaus proceeded to Geræstus, whence he conducted his armament safely to Ephesus: but the remoter consequences, as we shall see, were deeply unfortunate to Bœotia and to Lacedæmon.

The arrival of the Spartan king, with a Grecian army, in Asia, could not but alarm the satraps there. Tissaphernes sent a deputation to inquire the cause of a measure which so strongly

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 4. 5.  
B. C. 396. (12)  
Ol. 95.4—96.1.  
Novem. or  
Decem.  
[B. C. 396.  
Cl.\*]

<sup>12</sup> We are frequently missing, in Xenophon, the convenient accuracy of Thucydides in marking times and seasons; and Dodwell has not been fortunate in his endeavours to explain the difficulties occurring about the period of the commands of Dercyllidas and Agesilaus. In assigning the arrival of Agesilaus in Asia to the conclusion of the year B. C. 396, he says,—“Hoc nempe arcè cohæret cum historiâ Dercyllidæ.” It certainly does not cohere. Under the administration of Dercyllidas the Asian Greek cities singularly flourished in peace and concord. (Xen. Hel. 1. 3. c. 2. s. 7. 9.) But, before the expedition of Agesilaus was thought of, all was already confusion there through the removal of the councils of Ten (c. 4. s. 2. and 7.). Dodwell seems totally to have overlooked this latter circumstance; and so has attributed the congress at Sparta, which decreed the expedition of Agesilaus, to the same year, B. C. 397, to which he has given the progress of Dercyllidas and of the Spartan ministers through the Asiatic cities, when they were found so peaceful and flourishing. Having then attributed the resolution taken in Greece, for war with Asia under Agesilaus, to the year 397, he attributes the treaty of peace made by Dercyllidas to the following year, B. C. 396, and the arrival of Agesilaus in Asia to the conclusion of the same year, 396. Here evidently all is not consistent. I have however been unable, with the leisure I could give to the subject, and perhaps should be unable at any rate, to accommodate the dates of these transactions perfectly to one another, and to preceding and following events; and I have therefore thought it best, with this admonition to the reader, generally to give Dodwell's dates in the margin. The reader best acquainted with his labours will probably be most ready to excuse my failure, in the investigation of a labyrinth in which his learning, ingenuity, and diligence, directed to that as his principal object, have been bewildered. [One great source of error in the statement of Dodwell, with which Mr. Mitford is here dissatisfied, is pointed out below, p. 314. Dodwell's arrangement of the times of Agesilaus and Dercyllidas is with great acuteness examined and confuted by Mr. Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.* pp. 274—276.]

[\* “Agesilaus passes with an army from Aulis to Ephesus. Plut. Ages. c. 6, 7. Xen. Hel. III. 4. 3. Apparently in the spring. *First Campaign* of Agesilaus in Asia: described by Plut. Ages. c. 7—9. and by Xenophon, Hel. III. 4. 5—15. It began with a truce of three months with Tissaphernes: Xen. Hel. III. 4. 6. Agesil. c. 1—10.; and ended with his wintering at Ephesus: Xen. Hel. III. 4. 15, 16. Agesil. c. 1. 23—26.” Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.* under the year B. C. 396.]

implied a disposition not to abide by the treaty concluded with Dercyllidas. Agesilaus replied, that his purpose was not to disturb the peace of the king of Persia's dominions, but only to assure the independency of the Grecian cities in Asia. Tissaphernes answered, that he was himself still desirous of peace, upon the terms already settled; nor did he suppose the king averse; and he therefore desired time to send to Susa, before any hostilities should take place.

Xen. Hel.  
& Ages.

Agesilaus, who seems not to have been commissioned by the Spartan government for any purpose of conquest, but only to enforce the honourable terms of peace already concluded upon, acceded to the satrap's proposal. Dercyllidas, who was among his officers,

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 4. s. 6.

was sent with two others to the satrap's court, and a truce was concluded for three months. Tissaphernes, wholly unscrupulous, had no sooner sworn to the treaty than he took measures for hastening the arrival of troops, which might enable him to break it. This became known to Agesilaus, who nevertheless resolved to abide strictly by the compact made.

Among the thirty Spartans, who attended Agesilaus, was his friend Lysander. Agesilaus himself was yet little known among the Asian Greeks. The reputation therefore of Lysander, high, while he held command among them, and since so greatly increased by the conquest of Athens, drew the

s. 7. & Plut.  
Ages.

attention of all. The violence of party, and the disordered state of the governments, gave occasion for various representation, remonstrance, solicitation, and intrigue. All were anxious to obtain the interest of Lysander with the king; and such was the consequent attendance upon him that it appeared, says the historian, as if Lysander had been king, and Agesilaus a private person.

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 4. s. 8. &  
Plut. Ages.

The umbrage likely to be taken, at a superiority so pointedly attributed to him, was first mani-



fested by his colleagues of the Thirty; satisfied with their situation of counsellors to the king, but ill bearing to be considered as attendants upon one of their own body. At their instigation at length, Agesilaus began to show his dissatisfaction, by constantly denying the suits of those who came recommended by Lysander. Whether that officer had before been unbecomingly assuming does not appear; but the affront, now put upon him, he bore with becoming moderation. Gently dismissing the crowd of followers who used officiously to attend him, he told all who solicited his interest that his interference would only injure their cause. With the united respect and frankness, due to <sup>Xen. Hel. 1. 3. c. 4. s. 9.</sup> a king and a friend, he then opened himself to Agesilaus; expressed his regret that he could no longer be useful in his present situation; requested that he might be sent on any duty where he might equally avoid giving umbrage and incurring disgrace; and promised <sup>s. 10.</sup> that, to the best of his ability, it should be faithfully performed.

Agesilaus did not deny this petition; and Lysander, being sent to take the Hellespontine command, found an early opportunity to do a service highly acceptable to him. Spithridates, a Persian of rank, thought himself injured by Pharnabazus. The bond of connection between the government of Susa and the great men of the distant provinces, lax before the expedition of Cyrus, had been still weakened by that event. The address of Lysander therefore sufficed to persuade Spithridates to renounce a government which gave no security to its faithful servants, and pass over to the Greeks with his family and effects, and two hundred horse under his command. Accordingly, leaving these under the protection of Lysander in Cyzicus, Spithridates proceeded with his eldest son to wait upon Agesilaus in Ionia. The visit was, on many accounts, highly gratifying to that prince,

and, among other matters, for the information gained concerning the country under the government of Pharnabazus.

Xen. Hel. 1. 3. c. 4. s. 11. B. C. 395. Ol. 96. 4. [B. C. 396. Cl.] Tissaphernes only waited to be assured of the approach of the troops, particularly cavalry, which he expected from the interior provinces, and then sent a declaration to Agesilaus that, "unless the

European forces were immediately withdrawn from Asia, he and all who adhered to him must expect the vengeance of the great king." Not only the deputies from

Xen. Hel. ibid. & Agesil. the Asiatic cities were alarmed, but the officers of the army, and even the Lacedæmonians, could not without uneasiness compare the smallness of their force with the numbers reported of the enemy. Agesilaus however was not unprepared for this demonstration of the satrap's falsehood. Receiving the communication with cheerfulness, he bade the Persian ministers tell their master, "that he thanked him for making the gods, avengers of perjury, enemies to the Persian and friends to the Grecian cause." Instantly he despatched notices for the Ionian, Æolian, and Hellespontine forces to join him; issued orders for the troops with him to prepare for marching; and to indicate that he meant not to await attack, but to carry the war where he knew the satrap's interested feelings would be most vulnerable, he sent requisitions for the towns on the way to Caria to prepare markets for the army.

Xen. Hel. 1. 3. c. 4. s. 12. Tissaphernes, informed of these dispositions, directed his measures, not to the prosecution of the great interests of the empire, but to the preservation of his own large property in Caria. That mountainous province being unfit for the action of horse, he sent thither almost the whole of his infantry. Descending then with his numerous cavalry into the vale of the Mæander, he hoped, with that alone, to trample in dust the Grecian army before it could reach the highlands. Agesilaus was aware that, in

the plain, he must suffer in contest with the Persian horse. As soon therefore as he was assured that his feint had fixed the attention of the satrap to the southward, he directed his own march the contrary way. Thus he joined Xen. Hel. 1. 3. c. 4. s. 20. more readily, and without opposition, the forces from the northern colonies, among whom were the Cyrean troops: and falling, wholly unexpected, upon the satrapy of Pharnabazus, the country was plundered without resistance, the towns yielded as he approached, and he enriched his army with a very great booty. Encouraged thus, he approached Dascylium, the satrap's residence; but there he experienced how formidable the Persian cavalry were still capable of being. His small force of horse, preceding the march of the infantry, met nearly an equal force of the enemy's horse. Immediately the Greeks formed in line, four deep. Unlike the desultory manner of the modern Asiatics, the Persians charged in column, only twelve in front. Every Grecian lance opposed to them was broken; and twelve men, with two horses, were slain. The Greeks s. 14. so felt their inferiority that they immediately retreated. Fortunately the heavy-armed, under Agesilaus, were near enough to give them security. Modern tacticians generally hold the charge of cavalry in column absurd. The fact only is here given as it is related by the soldier-historian. The account however, it should be observed, is among the numerous instances of candid confession which entitle Xenophon to our credit when he relates the successes of the Greeks, and diminish, though certainly they cannot entirely remove, our regret, that we have no Persian accounts to confront with the Grecian.

Agesilaus, prudent as brave, saw quickly what was to be done. On the morrow after the action s. 15. of the cavalry the entrails of the victims in the sacrifice were found imperfect. This passed for an admonition from

the gods to proceed no farther, and Agesilaus immediately directed his march back toward the coast; aware, says the historian, in phrase pretty strongly implying that the omen had been preconcerted, of the impossibility of acting in the plains without a sufficient force of horse. Fortunately winter was approaching, when annoyance to the Grecian territories from the enemy's powerful cavalry was less to be apprehended.

Against the ensuing campaign Agesilaus took measures for being better provided. Requisitions were sent for the wealthy, in every Grecian city of Asia, to prepare themselves for that service which the Grecian political institutions imposed, at the same time, as an honour and a tax. Those requisitions were however accompanied with notice that, instead of personal attendance, able substitutes, well mounted and well armed, would be accepted; and the levies were completed, says Xenophon, with a diligence and despatch, as if every noble and wealthy Ionian thought he was hiring a man to die for him.

Xen. Hel. I. 3.  
c. 4. s. 16. B.C.  
394. Ol. 96. 2.  
[B. C. 395. \*  
Cl.] Early in spring Agesilaus assembled his whole force in Ephesus, and there bestowed attention, more than was usual among the generals of that age, in preparing his troops for service. Commonly among the Greeks, the soldier's arms were what his means enabled, or his zeal in the cause and regard for his own safety induced him to procure; his discipline was what the institutions of

[\* "Agesilaus prepares for his *Second Campaign* in Asia, ἐπειδὴ ἕως ὑπάρχειν. Xen. Hel. III. 4. 16. About the same time (that is, in the *spring*), the first year of his command expires: Hel. III. 4. 20. He gains a victory near Sardis: Hel. III. 4. 21—24. Tithraustes sent to supersede Tissaphernes: III. 4. 25. Mission of Timocrates into Greece: III. 5. 1—3. Agesilaus, ἅμα μεταπύζει, penetrates into Phrygia and Paphlagonia: Hel. IV. I. 1—3.

"Dodwell, Ann. Xen. p. 249., supposes the *spring* spoken of Hel. III. 4. 16. to be the *spring* of that summer in which the battle of Coronea was fought, and contracts the operations of *two* years into *one*." Clinton, Fasti Hellen. under the year B. C. 395.]

his commonwealth required of all its subjects; occasionally improved, through the same motives which excited care in the choice of arms. The man unprovided with the armour and unacquainted with the discipline of the heavy-armed was cast among the ignobler crowd of the light-armed: his pay, if any, was inferior; he had no allowance for a servant; if a prisoner, he was neglected; if killed, unnumbered. But, serving among the heavy-armed, in proportion as his armour was imperfect, and his personal skill deficient, his danger in action was greater. Agesilaus however would not trust the service of his country, and his own glory, to the various effect of such considerations upon the various tempers of men. Heavy-armed, middle-armed, bowmen, and cavalry were all severally called out to exercise: emulation was excited by the institution of prizes for those who excelled; arms were examined; artisans and traders were invited and encouraged; the agora of Ephesus was crowded with horses and warlike implements of every kind; and the city, says the soldier-historian who was present, seemed a laboratory of war.<sup>13</sup>

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 4. s. 17.

Amid these military cares the attention of Agesilaus to acts of religion contributed to infuse, at the same time, confidence and a spirit of order among his troops. It was his common practice to lead the way from the field of exercise to the temple of Diana, where those who had gained prizes offered their chaplets, the honorary part of their reward, to the goddess. "And what," proceeds the historian, "may not be hoped from an army dutiful to the gods, diligent in military exercises, and zealous in subordination?"

s. 18.

Another measure of the Spartan prince to excite confidence among his troops, consonant as doubtless it was to the manners esteemed best in that age, and accordingly men-

tioned by Xenophon, not only without reprobation, but among things praiseworthy, will be otherwise thought of by the better-taught humanity of modern times.

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 4. s. 19.  
& Agesil.

Among the prisoners at Ephesus, taken in the Persian provinces by those freebooters who, in the deficiency of law and government, made their livelihood by such violences <sup>14</sup>, were some of wealthy families and higher rank; accustomed, says the historian, to ride in carriages, and unaccustomed to toil. These Agesilaus ordered to be exposed naked for public sale by the common crier. Unpractised in those naked exercises, in which the bodies of men of all ranks among the Greeks became embrowned, their skins were white, their limbs delicate, they appeared incapable of activity or labour, and the Greek soldiers drew the conclusion that they should have no more to apprehend in battle from such men than from so many women.

a. 20.  
B. C. 394.  
Ol. 96. 2-3.  
[B. C. 395,  
Spring. Cl.  
See p. 314.]

According to the usual rotation in the Lacedæmonian service, when the first year of the command of Agesilaus was completed, Lysander and the rest of the Thirty returned home, and were succeeded in their situation by an equal number of other Spartans. Among these the king was to distribute the commands under him at his discretion. The cavalry accordingly he committed to Xenocles; the Lacedæmonian neodamodes to Scythes; to Herippidas the Cyreans; and the Asian Greeks to Migdon. He then notified his intention to march directly into the richest of the enemy's country, in defence of which the utmost exertion was to be expected, and he therefore admonished all to be prepared in body and mind accordingly.

Xen. Hel. 1. 5.  
c. 4. s. 21.

The wily yet weak Tissaphernes was again deceived through his very fear of deception. Being informed of the notice given in public orders by the Spartan

<sup>14</sup> Ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν ἀλισχομένους.

king, he thought it a feint, like that of the former year; and, supposing Caria so much more certainly now the real as it was less the pretended object, he again sent his infantry thither, and again encamped with his formidable cavalry in the vale of Mæander. Agesilaus, in precise conformity to his declared intention, marched into the Sardian territory, and, three days unopposed, his army collected plunder on all sides.

On the fourth day the followers of the Grecian camp were dispersed for booty about the rich banks of the Pactolus, when a body of Persian cavalry suddenly came upon them and killed several. Agesilaus ordering his horse to their relief, the whole Persian army appeared, forming in order of battle. The ground was not favourable for engaging so superior a body of cavalry; but the whole Grecian force was collected, and the Persian infantry absent. Agesilaus therefore resolved to use the opportunity. He ordered his horse, with assurance of being supported, to charge: he commanded his middle-armed to follow running; and he led his phalanx with a brisk yet steady pace after them. The Persians repelled <sup>15</sup> the Grecian cavalry; but the sight of the middle-armed, followed by the formidable array of the phalanx, dismayed them; they turned, and presently fled. Some, entangled in the course of the Pactolus, were killed or made prisoners. Against the rest the pursuit of the Greeks was little destructive: but it gave them possession of the Persian camp. The middle-armed, as would be likely, says the historian, immediately fell to plunder. But Agesilaus disappointed their rapacity by surrounding the camp with his more regular troops; and, enclosing thus together friends and foes, he ensured the just distribution of a very great

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 4. s. 22.

s. 23.

s. 24.

<sup>15</sup> So much, I think, is implied in the word *ἰδιόματα*, used both in the Hellenics and in the Agesilaus.

booty. Many camels, an animal then little known in Greece, being carried thither by Agesilaus in his return, were much noticed among the trophies that distinguished this victory.

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 4. s. 25. &  
Agesil.

Intelligence of the event excited great alarm in Sardis, and vehement complaint against the satrap.

He was in his palace there when the misfortune happened which his presence with the army, and the animation he might have infused by sharing its dangers, it was held, ought to have prevented. The alarm was quickly enhanced, and the complaint sharpened, by the appearance of the Grecian army before the walls, and by the plunder and destruction

Agesil.

around. The Spartan king endeavoured to increase the disorder by a proclamation, declaring himself the friend and protector of freedom, ready to contest in arms the right of any who claimed to hold Asia in subjection. It does not appear that any important desertion followed: but great alarm was communicated, even to the distant court of Persia, insomuch that the ruin of Tissaphernes was in consequence resolved upon. According to the manner nearly of the Turkish empire at this day, Tithraustes came to Sardis, commissioned from the king, at the same time to supersede and to behead him. Such was the end of that worthless satrap; who, in a long course of years, had such various transactions with the Greeks. His sovereigns, and their subjects committed to his government, both had undoubtedly enough to complain of him; yet, as far as the Greeks were interested in his character, his weakness and cowardice seem to have been more beneficial to them than his profligacy was injurious.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Cornelius Nepos, in his Life of Conon, says that Tissaphernes rebelled, and that his death was the just punishment for that crime: but the biographer abounds with instances of carelessness, and of a deficient judgment, which led him sometimes, even in contradiction to the best authorities, to report utter improbabilities. Indeed many of the Lives ascribed to him bear much the appearance of juvenile exercises; the works of a youth of talent, in a course of Greek reading, practising Latin composition.



The first act of the government of Tithraustes, after the execution of his predecessor, marks a weakness in the Persian empire which, notwithstanding the many instances that have occurred, still appears surprising. When, in the distant provinces, private interest or private animosity had led the late satrap to measures directly opposite to what the service of his sovereign required, we see only a common consequence of weak government. But the new viceroy came immediately commissioned from the supreme council of the empire, and yet did not come to revenge the injuries of the Persian subjects, or repair the disgraces of the Persian arms, suffered in the invasion of the empire from the forces of a little distant republic. He entered immediately into negotiation with Agesilaus; rather apologised for past measures, laying the blame upon his predecessor; observed that justice was now executed upon that worthless officer; and protested that the king his master desired no other than that the Grecian cities in Asia should be free; paying the ancient tribute or rent for their lands, which had always been confessedly held of his empire; and that, upon these conditions only, he expected that the European troops should be withdrawn. Agesilaus professed himself willing to treat, but without authority to conclude. Tithraustes desired that authority might be sent for, and, in the mean time, that hostilities against his satrapy at least might cease. "Consider Pharnabazus," he said, "still as your enemy, and invade his territory; but for myself, I have a fair claim to be treated as the friend of the Greeks, having done them justice against him who was the principal author of their wrongs." This submissive language from the lieutenant of the great king was followed by what still more marks the consciousness of utter inability, in the administration of the empire, to extend from the capital to the distant provinces the energy necessary to hold all united in just obedience and

under due protection. Agesilaus did not scruple to require, as the price of truce with one satrapy, to be paid the expense of carrying war into another; and to this apparently strange proposal the new satrap acceded: thirty talents, above six thousand pounds sterling, were paid expressly to defray the expense of the Grecian army's march into the Bithynian satrapy.<sup>17</sup> Examples of a policy somewhat similar perhaps may be found in the modern history of Turkey. Of the fact however we cannot reasonably doubt; for Xenophon, holding his command in the Cyrean troops, and intimate with Agesilaus, was in a situation certainly to know what he related; and his zeal for the glory of his friend and patron would not lead him designedly to exaggerate the satrap's folly, or the weakness of the Persian empire.

The views of Agesilaus, in the early part of his command, appear to have been moderate. He would have been contented with the glory of giving independency to the Greeks of Asia, and peace to those of Europe. But experience of the ease with which greater advantages and higher fame might be acquired seems to have excited his ambition. Possibly however he may have found good reason to believe that moderation was not so safe as on a transient view it might appear. He may have thought, and perhaps justly, that there could be no security for peace but in the enemy's inability to make successful war. Possibly he may have known some cause, not likely to be lasting, for the new satrap's submissive conduct, apparently so unbecoming the officer of a great empire in so great a command; and he may have been influenced by the consideration that, if Tithraustes was not as faithless as Tissaphernes, an early successor might be so. Meanwhile the success of his friends at home,

<sup>17</sup> The satrapy of Pharnabazus appears to have been variously called the Bithynian, the Phrygian, the Hellespontine, or of Dascylis or Dascylium, the satrap's principal residence.

in managing his political interests, was encouragement to follow the path of ambition. A commission arrived, putting the fleet under his command, Xen. Hel. 1. 3. c. 4. s. 26. equally with the land forces, and authorising him to appoint the admiral. He proceeded immediately to use this new power with a view not to peace, unless as it might follow farther success in war. He communicated to all the towns of the coast and islands his wish to s. 27. have his naval force increased: leaving it to themselves to decide what ships they would add to their squadrons. Agesilaus was popular; the war was popular; to many it had been lucrative; and, the zeal of wealthy individuals vying with that of communities, the fleet was strengthened with a hundred and twenty new triremes. In the appointment of his admiral Agesilaus allowed his partiality for a friend and kinsman to lead him to injudicious choice. Superseding Pharax, who had done considerable services, he committed the important command to Pisander, his queen's brother; a man of approved courage and clear honour, but unversed in naval affairs.

## SECTION IV.

*Mission of Timocrates into Greece from the Satrap of Lydia. — Bribery of the democratical Leaders in the Grecian Republics. — Enmity excited against Lacedæmon. — War between Phocis and Locris, leading to War between Lacedæmon and Thebes. — Athens gained to the Theban Alliance. — Invasion of Bæotia. — Death of Lysander. — Prosecution and Flight of Pausanias, King of Lacedæmon.*

THESE preparations, demonstrating that the Lacedæmonian king had neither peace nor any little object in view, alarmed Tithraustes. The military of the Persian empire was weak, but its wealth was powerful. Means to be informed of the state of Greece, of

B. C. 394.  
Ol. 96. 2-3.  
Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 5. s. 1.  
[B. C. 395. Cl.]

the dissensions among its little republics, one with another and each within itself, of the violence of party in all, and, what was most important, of the extensive dislike to the Lacedæmonian supremacy, and the growing jealousy of the Lacedæmonian power, were open to the satrap. A Persian versed enough in Grecian politics and Grecian manners to manage an intriguing negotiation among the Grecian republics probably was not to be found. Tithraustes therefore employed a Greek, Timocrates of Rhodes. The general purpose of his mission was to conciliate to the Persian interests the leading men of every republic where he could find opportunity; directing his view particularly to those cities where aversion toward Lacedæmon was known most to prevail. Among means, bribery was much depended upon; a political engine of great efficacy, though it had not then, as our moral poet has observed, that facility of operation which modern refinements in commerce have given it. Paper-credit was unknown: Timocrates was necessarily to be encumbered with gold.<sup>18</sup> In the poverty of the Grecian republics however, about twelve thousand pounds sterling, ably and faithfully distributed, was sufficient to make a great change in the political face of the country.<sup>19</sup> Xenophon

<sup>18</sup> Blest paper credit ! last and best supply !  
 That lends Corruption lighter wings to fly !  
 Gold, imp'd by thee, can compass hardest things,  
 Can pocket states, can fetch and carry kings ;  
 A single leaf shall waft an army o'er,  
 Or ship off senates to a distant shore ;  
 A leaf, like Sibyl's, scatter to and fro  
 Our fates and fortunes, as the winds shall blow :  
 Pregnant with thousands flits the scrap unseen,  
 And, silent, sells a king or buys a queen.

Pope's Moral Essays, ep. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Whether Xenophon was or was not exactly informed of the sum which Timocrates brought and distributed, though it is reasonable to suppose he had some good ground for his positive assertion, he was however competent to judge whether the sum he has named was probably equal to the effect ascribed to it.

has not scrupled to name the party-leaders, in Thebes, Corinth, and Argos, who partook of it. If we may trust his impartiality in speaking of his fellow-countrymen, the Athenians, clear of that baseness, were led only by ambition, and the hope of recovering their lost pre-eminence in Greece, to desire a confederacy against Lacedæmon.

But, whatever the operations of secret intrigue might be, the result became quickly evident. The general assemblies in the several cities resounded with invectives against Lacedæmonian tyranny. "Since the conclusion of the twenty-seven years' war," it was asked, "and the overthrow of the tyrannous dominion of Athens, what benefit has accrued to Greece from the transfer of empire to Lacedæmon? Of what command, what honour, what revenue have the allies been allowed to participate? those allies who so zealously shared all labours, all dangers, all expenses. On the contrary, adding indignity to injury, have not the Lacedæmonians sent Helots, with their title of harmost, to govern Grecian republics, and conducting themselves, in all respects, as if they claimed to be masters of their free confederates?" The apprehensions, the indignation, and the animosity of the many were thus extensively excited. But a pretence for hostility was yet wanting; for the Lacedæmonian government, however its officers, or however itself might be occasionally oppressive, had scrupulously avoided any direct breach of those treaties by which the Grecian republics were united under its supremacy. And it is to be observed that those called Helots, to whom foreign command was committed, were not persons actually in the condition of slaves. They were indeed probably new citizens, those called neodamodes, raised from the condition of slaves; but of Grecian blood, as old and perhaps as pure as any in the country. The re-

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 5. s. 2.

Ibid.

s. 3.

proach however might assist the general effect. But the Thebans were the ingenious politicians who devised the provocation which actually led to a renewal of the miseries of a general war in Greece; likely, through obvious circumstances, to superinduce general ruin or universal subjection, though the foreign power then most formidable failed of the requisite energy, and it was beyond the ken of the clearest human foresight to discover where the overwhelming might was at length to arise.

Xen. Hel. l. 3.  
c. 5. s. 5. Diod.  
l. 14. c. 82.

The borders of Phocis and the Opuntian Locris were in one part disputed.<sup>20</sup> Androclidas, one of those popular leaders in Thebes, whom Xenophon has not scrupled to name as a partaker in the Persian gold, persuaded the Locrians to raise contributions on the doubtful land. The Phocians, precisely as Androclidas expected and desired, immediately made reprisals. For this aggression against the allies of Thebes, as the party affected to call it, it was then not difficult to excite the Theban multitude against the Phocians. Accordingly Phocis was invaded and plundered. Unable to contend with Thebes, and still more with Thebes and Locris united, the Phocians sent ministers to Lacedæmon, claiming that protection to which they were entitled, as members of the confederacy in which

Xen. Hel. l. 3.  
c. 5. s. 5, 6, 7.

the greater part of Greece was united. The Spartans rejoiced in the fair pretence, thus afforded, for repressing by arms the injurious insolence of Thebes. The success of Agesilaus against the Persian empire elated them; no other commotion within Greece interfered; and the cause appeared so just that they thought

<sup>20</sup> . . . . . Οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις πρῶτον — πείθουσι Λόκρους τοὺς Ὀπουντίους ἐκ τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου χώρας Φωκεῦσί τε καὶ ἰαυτοῖς χεῖματα τελεῖσαι. — *Thebanæ civitatis principes — Locris Opuntiis persuadent ut ex agro inter Phocenses et Thebanos controverso pecunias penderent.* It is clear, from what follows in the next section, that the translation here is wrong: ἰαυτοῖς means not the Thebans, but the Locrians.

they might depend upon the willing support of the confederacy. War was accordingly resolved; the forces of the confederacy were summoned, and orders were issued for a Lacedæmonian army to march.

B. C. 394. Ol.  
96. 2-3. [B. C.  
395. Cl. See  
p. 326.]

Thebes being thus engaged in a contest very unequal, unless powerful support could be obtained, its leaders, little known by name in history, but evidently able, daring men, possibly true to their party, but scrupulous of nothing for party-purposes, directed their view to Athens. They knew that a disposition hostile to Lacedæmon was extensive there; but they knew moreover

Xen. Hel. l. 3.  
c. 5. s. 7.

that a warm sense of many and severe injuries, received from the Thebans, was also strongly impressed. Ministers were therefore sent, instructed to sooth, flatter, and incite the Athenians. Careless themselves

s. 8.

of the general welfare of Greece, and believing that a majority in Athens would postpone it to the separate interest of their own city, or of their party, they held out the probability of gaining the alliance of the Persian king, now decidedly the enemy of Lacedæmon, which, they said, would ensure success; and they did not even scruple to propose the recovery of that dominion to Athens, which she had formerly held over so many Grecian states, as an object which ought to decide the Athenians in their favour. Thrasylus, it appears, countenanced their measure. It coincided with his interest as head of the democratical party in Athens; and probably he had his particular connections with the democratical leaders in Thebes. Under such circumstances the proposal was carried in the Athenian assembly for joining in the war with Thebes against Lacedæmon.

s. 9.

The interest of Lysander, still powerful at Sparta, is likely to have contributed to the resolution for war with Thebes.

He was immediately appointed to an important command, for which the popularity of his character seems to have concurred with the superiority of his abilities and experience

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 5. s. 9. to render him peculiarly qualified. Going into

Phocis he assembled, according to his instructions, the Phocian, Cætan, Heracleot, Malian, and Ænian forces. Marching directly to Orchomenus, where the supremacy affected by Thebes was borne with reluctance, the gates, after short negotiation, were opened to him as a protector, the vindicator of Bæotian freedom. Strengthened

s. 10, 11. then by the Orchomenian troops he proceeded to

Haliartus, where, according to a concerted plan, Pausanias king of Lacedæmon was to meet him on an appointed day with the army from Peloponnesus. Pausanias failed him. Nevertheless approaching the place, and obtaining a conference with the leading people, he would have prevailed there, as at Orchomenus, had not the exertions of some Thebans present, not without difficulty, prevented.

s. 12. Informed of the loss of one city and the danger of another, the Thebans marched in haste against

Lysander. Whether that able general was surprised by their rapidity, or his past successes led him to confide too much in his own ability, in the zeal and discipline of his troops, and in the deficiency of the enemy, under the walls

[B. C. 395.\*  
Cl.] of Haliartus, which he was preparing to assault, he was overpowered and killed. His army fled;

but, quickly reaching the neighbouring highlands, turned upon the pursuers, and with advantage of ground, and an artillery which that ground afforded, fragments of rock rolled down upon the compact body of the heavy-armed, while the heights gave superior effect also to other weapons, the

[\* "Lysander is slain at Haliartus in the thirtieth year—*ἐν τριηκοστῷ*—after the battle of Delium: Plutarch. Lysand. c. 29.: consequently in the year of Diophantus." Clinton, Fasti Hellen. p. 94.]



enemy were at length compelled to retreat with considerable loss.

The Thebans erected their trophy at that gate of Haliartus near which they had been conquerors, and Lysander had fallen; yet they were not a little dejected by the final event of the day. The morrow however showed how important the life of one man may be: Orchomenians, Malians, Ænians, Heracleots, Cētæans, and Phocians, though victorious, having lost the leader who united all, and in whom all confided, hastened to their several homes, and the army was no more. Then the Thebans were again elated, and their success appeared important. Xen. ut ant. ]

But when, soon after, Pausanias arrived in their territory, with his powerful army from Peloponnesus, alarm and dejection anew pervaded them. The arrival of the Athenian forces, on the following day, restored animation; and when it was observed that the measures of Pausanias indicated no ability, no vigour, then security and presumption afresh prevailed.

It has been observed, upon some occasion in modern times, that, when a commander desires to avoid fighting, he calls a council of war; and this, in ancient as in modern ages, might arise either from cowardice, or from conscious deficiency of ability, or from a view to the interest of a party: nor would it, in ancient, any more than in modern ages, be always easy to ascertain which was the prevailing motive. The business of recovering, for burial, the bodies of Lysander and those who fell with him, a rite which Grecian superstition made so important, necessarily engaged the attention of Pausanias. To Xen. Hel. l. 3.  
c. 5. s. 15. consult whether a battle should be fought, or a truce solicited, not the polemarchs and lochages only, but all the pentecosters of the army were assembled. It s. 16. was observed that the army was very deficient of

the strength proposed; Corinth had refused its troops, and the re-enforcement expected with Lysander was dispersed; that the allies serving were not zealous in the cause; that the enemy was very superior in cavalry; and that even a victory would scarcely enable them to accomplish their purpose of recovering the bodies, lying within reach of missile weapons from the towers of Haliartus. It was accordingly

Xen. Hel. 1. 3.  
c. 5. s. 17. resolved to solicit a truce. The Thebans, elated,

refused to grant it but upon condition that the army should immediately quit Bœotia. This humiliating condition was accepted, and then the dead were restored. Pausanias and those about him appeared satisfied: but, whatever might be their sentiments or their views, the army felt its disgrace; and the uneasiness was enhanced by the contumelious behaviour of the Thebans, who, in attending its retreat, pursued with blows any who deviated from the strict line of the highway.

s. 18. Diod.  
l. 14. c. 90. The conduct of Pausanias would appear, at home, the more inexcusable, on being compared with that of Lysander, when it was observed what one did, in the command of a few troops of the northern allies, with what the other did not, at the head of a Peloponnesian army. Being capitally prosecuted, Pausanias fled to Tegea; and to avoid the consequence of the sentence, in his absence pronounced against him, he passed his remaining days in banishment.

Corn. Nep. &  
Plut. vit. Lys. We find attributed to Lysander, by the later ancient writers, whom the modern have mostly followed, a conduct very different from that indicated by the contemporary historian; in foreign command a revolting haughtiness, an injurious and selfish tyranny; at home, a plot for a revolution, through which he proposed to become sovereign of Lacedæmon and of all Greece. His influence, it is said, was exerted, and his intrigues directed, to procure

a decree of the Lacedæmonians in general assembly for abolishing the hereditary right to the throne in the posterity of Hercules, and laying open the succession to all Spartans, at the choice of the people ; trusting in his own popularity for a certain preference. Considering the contemporary historian's connection with Agesilaus and the family of Agesilaus, it must appear extraordinary that even the first imputation, if founded, and most unaccountable that the latter, should wholly have escaped that historian's notice. In gathering the conduct and characters of eminent men from ancient authors, we find occasion continually to beware how far party-spirit may have directed the contemporary, and a deference to party-writers, the later pens ; and, fortunately, not seldom the result itself furnishes assistance for detection. So here the sense which the party in opposition to Lysander entertained of his popularity at home could hardly be more strongly shown than by the imputation of such a purpose as that ascribed to him, to be prosecuted in such a manner, which clearly implies corroboration of Xenophon's account of his popularity both in Asia and in Northern Greece. Indeed, the manner in which the friend of the king of Sparta and of his family, objects of the pretended plot, has borne testimony to Lysander's merits, is really creditable at the same time to Lysander, Agesilaus, and Xenophon ; and the total failure of notice of such a plot, both in the Hellenics and the Agesilaus, seems enough to indicate that the tale originated in party invective only, to which both Agesilaus and Xenophon disdained to give any countenance.

## SECTION V.

*Plan of Agesilaus for dismembering the Persian Empire. — Alliance of the Prince of Paphlagonia with Lacedæmon. — Winter Campaign in Bithynia. — Conference between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus.*

B. C. 394.  
Ol. 96. 2-3.  
[B. C. 395,  
Cl. See p. 314.]

WHILE the flame of internal war was thus rekindled in Greece, and Lacedæmon, ruled by the ephors, was rapidly losing her consideration and influence there, Agesilaus had been successfully prosecuting a plan of operations against Persia, the best calculated of any known to have been ever formed, for promoting, not merely the interest of Lacedæmon, or even of Greece alone, but the common good of a much larger portion of mankind. Stimulated, no doubt, by the love of glory, but allured by no vain, interested, destructive project of conquest, he proposed to dismember the Persian empire, leaving the separated parts free. The philosopher, his friend and historian, gives him the entire credit of this wise and liberal policy. None before Agesilaus, he says, ever thought of so depriving the Persian king of his provinces as not to bring ruin upon the people. But the revolt of Cyrus, which had led Lacedæmon, lately the ally, to become the enemy of the king, had at the same time prepared matters for this great design, pointed out the means of execution, and demonstrated the probability of success. A shock had been given to the fidelity of the great vassals in the distant provinces; and the exigency which had compelled the Greeks, who accompanied Cyrus, to fight their way from the centre to the extremity, had afforded sure ground for calculating the force necessary to attack it. The revolt of Spithridates was then an important point already gained: it gave not only hope of farther defection, but means to pro-

Xen. Ages.  
c. 7. s. 7.

cure it. Cotys, or Corylas<sup>21</sup>, king of Paphlagonia, a tributary of the Persian empire, had not concurred in the rebellion of Cyrus, yet, on receiving summons from the king to join the royal army with his forces, had refused obedience. Probably the fear of vengeance would make the Lacedæmonian alliance acceptable to him, and Spithridates undertook to manage the negotiation. Meanwhile Egypt, long since in revolt, remained subdued.

Xen. Hel. 1. 4.  
c. 1. s. 1, 2.

It does not appear that Agesilaus was aware of the intrigues which Tithraustes was carrying on in Greece when, in pursuance of his engagement with him, early in autumn he quitted the Lydian and entered the Bithynian satrapy. No due preparation had been made by Pharnabazus to defend the country. In the field no opposition was attempted; and, as the Grecian army proceeded toward Paphlagonia, some towns voluntarily surrendered, some were taken by assault, and waste and plunder were extensive. The negotiation with Cotys meanwhile proceeded successfully. Agesilaus was met by that prince on the border of his territory, and a treaty of alliance with the Lacedæmonian commonwealth was concluded. Agesilaus, much gratified with the event, at the same time to strengthen the union with Cotys and to reward Spithridates, proposed a marriage, which was presently agreed upon, between the Paphlagonian prince and the Persian nobleman's daughter. But, in the deficiency of accommodations in the intervening country, the young lady could not travel into Paphlagonia from Cyzicus, where her father had left her, before the following spring. Agesilaus gratified all parties by ordering a trireme

B. C. 394.  
Ol. 96. 3.  
[B. C. 395. Cl.  
See p. 314.]

Xen. Hel. 1. 4.  
c. 1. s. 3—7.

s. 8.

<sup>21</sup> Cotys is the name we find in our copies of Xenophon's Hellenics, as well as of Diodorus and Plutarch; but in our copies of Xenophon's Anabasis it is written Corylas.

of his fleet, with a Spartan commander, to convey her to the Paphlagonian coast.

We have had many occasions to observe how economically, in the scantiness of their public revenues, the Greeks commonly made war. For an army far from home it was particularly desirable to find winter-quarters in the enemy's country. Having acquired the important re-enforcement of a thousand Paphlagonian horse and two thousand targeteers, Agesilaus resolved to march to Dascylium, the capital of the Bithynian satrapy, and with the plunder of its rich territory to subsist and reward his army. The territory of Dascylium was the inherited property of Pharnabazus. His

Xen. Hel. l. 4.  
c. 1. s. 8. palace was sumptuous, and surrounded with every appendage of convenience and delight. Xenophon, himself both a sportsman and a farmer, has particularly noticed the enclosed parks and open chases, abounding with game of every kind, the river stored with fish, the many large villages and well-cultivated farms, with a numerous population, unaccustomed to see or to apprehend an enemy. The satrap being without infantry which he could oppose to the Grecian phalanx, his own and his people's property became the prey of the invaders.

s. 9. All the care and foresight of Agesilaus were however insufficient to guard against the effects of the contempt, naturally growing, for an enemy so apparently helpless; while Pharnabazus, without troops for steady defence, had however those with which he could strike a sudden blow; and he wanted neither activity nor spirit to direct and lead their exertions. A body from the Grecian army, sent to collect provisions, was wandering carelessly after plunder, when the satrap came upon them with a small body of horse and two scythe-armed chariots. The Greeks had notice of his approach timely enough to assemble to the number of seven hundred. Pharnabazus,

though his cavalry were only four hundred, did not hesitate to attack them. At the battle of Cunaxa the charge of a hundred and fifty scythe-armed chariots had been directed against ten thousand Greeks in phalanx, without any effect. Two only now, probably under bolder guidance, threw seven hundred into confusion; and a vigorous charge of the cavalry immediately following completed the rout. A hundred were killed; and flight would have saved few of the rest, had not Agesilaus, with the main body of the army, been fortunately near enough to give them protection.

This action, honourable to Pharnabazus and encouraging to his troops, was however scarcely a step towards relief from circumstances highly distressing. He was constantly watching with his cavalry to give protection to Xen. Hel. l. 4. c. 1. s. 11. his property and people against detachments and marauders from the Grecian army; but, through fear of nightly attack, which an army of cavalry was little fit to resist, he dared rest nowhere. Moving therefore daily, he was always anxious to keep it unknown where he meant at night to encamp or take his quarters. But pre-s. 10.caution, which might have sufficed against the Greeks, did not suffice against the knowledge of the country, and the means for procuring intelligence, which Spithridates possessed. Within three days after the surprise and defeat of the Grecian detachment Spithridates obtained information that the satrap was at Cava, a large village about twenty miles from the Grecian camp. He communicated with the Spartan Herippidas, who commanded the Cyrean troops; a man covetous of fame, and always eager for enterprise; and Herippidas requested of Agesilaus permission to attempt the surprise of the satrap in his quarters; desiring for the purpose two thousand heavy-armed, as many targeteers, the Paphlagonian cavalry, with that under Spithridates, and as many of the Greeks as would be volunteers

on the occasion. Agesilaus consented: the preparatory sacrifice was performed, and the augur declared that success was portended. The detachment was ordered to assemble at the close of evening in front of the camp. But darkness, and the want of those convenient and cheap materials for writing, with which, in modern times the lowest officer so readily forms his roll, gave opportunity for evasion, and not half the proposed number of any of the troops appeared. Fear of derision nevertheless stimulating, Herippidas resolved to proceed, and Spithridates did not shrink from the undertaking.

Marching accordingly, they reached Cava before day, and with the first dawn, assaulted and presently carried the principal outguard. The whole Persian army instantly fled, and the camp was taken. Spithridates and the Paphlagonians were hasty in appropriating its contents. The satrap's baggage, a multitude of slaves, and numerous beasts of burthen for accompanying the rapid marches of the cavalry with accommodations for the satrap and his train, fell into their hands. Herippidas, anxious to get credit for the amount of the capture, as well as to do justice to himself and his detachment, stationed his Greek troops so as to intercept those who bore and drove the plunder, and he put all in charge of the common prize-sellers of the army.<sup>22</sup> This measure, in itself apparently right, he seems to have made wrong by the Spartan roughness, by the too little condescension for Asiatic prejudices, with which he carried it into execution. The Paphlagonians were disgusted, as if they had received a gross injury; and Spithridates so resented what he considered as a disgracing insult that, on the following night, he left the army, and led away the Paphlagonians with him. Going to Sardis he surrendered himself with them to

Xen. Hel. l. 4.  
c. 1. s. 11.

s. 12.

<sup>22</sup> Λαφυροπώλαι.



Ariæus, in whom, as having himself borne arms against the king, they expected the readier disposition to excuse their desertion. No event, during his command in Asia, gave Agesilaus so much uneasiness.

The hope of an acquisition however, that would much more than compensate the loss thus sustained, about the same time presented itself. Apollophanes, a Greek of Cyzicus, who had been long connected by hospitality with Pharnabazus, was at this time living as a guest with Agesilaus. He proposed to negotiate an interview between the satrap and the Lacedæmonian king, and he succeeded. A place was appointed in the open air. Agesilaus, Xen. Hel. l. 4. c. 1. s. 13. attended by his thirty Spartans, arrived first; and, finding some green-sward, all with Spartan simplicity seated themselves on it. Presently Pharnabazus came, gorgeously habited, and attended by a numerous train, who proceeded sedulously to spread fine carpets and place soft cushions, after the Persian fashion. The sight of the Spartan king struck him with a generous shame: he ordered away all the apparatus of luxury, and in emulation of the simplicity which he admired, would seat himself on the ground. The customary salutation having passed, Pharnabazus offered his right hand, which Agesilaus with his right hand received; after which the satrap, as the elder, says the historian, began the conference. Mentioning the alliance he formerly s. 14. had with Lacedæmon, and the important services he had rendered that state in the war with Athens, he proceeded to say, "None could accuse him of double-dealing like Tissaphernes: yet his recompense was the destruction of his property, with such distress to himself that he could not command a supper from his own estate, unless, like the dogs, he could pick up crumbs left by the Greeks. If then," he added, "I am ignorant of what is just and sacred,

I wish you to teach me how this can be consistent with generosity and gratitude."

Xen. Hel. 1. 4.  
c. 1. s. 15. &  
Plut. Ages.

The Thirty felt the reproach<sup>23</sup> in respectful silence. Agesilaus, after some pause, answered: "Nothing is better known, among the customs of the Greeks, than the sacred respect in which the laws of hospitality are held: yet, when war arises between Grecian states, our obligation to our country so supersedes what we owe to any individual, that we hold it a duty even to kill, if we meet them in battle, those to whom we are pledged in hospitality. Instantly therefore as the king of Persia became the enemy of our country, the duty became imposed upon us to treat as enemies whoever owns allegiance to him. With regard to yourself, as an individual, there is nothing we should more value than your friendship; but the means of our possessing it rests not with us but with you. Far be it from me to propose to you the change of subjection to Persia for subjection to Greece. Better things are before you: to own no subjection, to worship no master. Nor is it freedom with indigence (though I esteem freedom beyond all riches) that I would recommend; but, on the contrary, to hold your present large and rich command in independency; and, forming alliance with us, to make additions to it by conquest, not to increase the king's dominion but your own."

Xen. Hel. 1. 4.  
c. 1. s. 16.

Pharnabazus replied: "I will answer you candidly. I do not reckon myself so bound to Artaxerxes but that, were he to supersede me in the command I hold under him, and require me to obey another, I might be induced to renounce my subjection to him, and become your ally. But while he continues to trust me, you may depend

<sup>23</sup> This interpretation of Xenophon's words, in the Hellenics, is warranted by Plutarch, in his Life of Agesilaus, v. 2. p. 1100. ed. H. Steph.

upon it (and all men of honour, I am confident, will approve my conduct) I shall continue to defend the charge committed to me to the utmost of my ability." Struck with the satrap's generous frankness, Agesilaus took his hand and said, "With those noble sentiments much I wish you could become our friend. Of this however be assured; my army shall quit your territory without delay; and while the war lasts, if there is another object for our arms, you and yours shall remain unmolested."

The conference here ending, Pharnabazus mounted his house. As he rode away, his son, Xen. Hel. 1. 4. c. 1. s. 18. running to Agesilaus, said, "I pledge myself in hospitality to you." "I accept the pledge," answered the king. "Remember then," replied the youth, and presented a finely wrought javelin. Looking around for something to return, Agesilaus observed furniture of singular elegance, on a horse of one of his attendants. This he directed to be put upon the youth's horse, who immediately mounted and pursued his father.

Such, equally among Persians and Greeks, were relics yet existing of the manners of the heroic ages. The progress of civilisation and government, among either people indeed, had not superseded the need of the ancient hospitality. Not long after, in the absence of Pharnabazus, his brother usurped for a time the s. 19. satrapy; and his son, compelled to seek safety in flight, passing into Greece, was very kindly entertained by Agesilaus.

In conformity with his word given, Agesilaus immediately led his army out of Bithynia, where s. 20. however, according to his first purpose, he had subsisted it nearly through the winter, at the satrap's expense. Moving westward, he encamped in the vale of Thebe; and, spring now

approaching<sup>24</sup>, he sent requisitions for new levies, from all the Grecian settlements, to join him there. At the head of a very powerful army, he proposed then to direct his march eastward, beyond the satrapies both of Tithraustes and Pharnabazus. He had seen by how loose a tie the distant members of the empire were connected with the government in the capital. He knew, by the most unequivocal proof, from the return of the Cyrean Greeks, how weak the empire was, even at the centre: he had already proved the superiority of his military force to anything likely to be opposed to him; and he concluded that the country, in whatever extent he could put it behind him, would be, if not conquered for Lacedæmon or for Greece, yet effectually separated from the Persian dominion.

<sup>24</sup> Σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ ἔαε \* ὑπέφαινε. Xen. Hel. l. 4. c. 1. s. 20. The first words of the same chapter mention the preceding autumn. Yet Dodwell has chosen to conclude his account of the year B.C. 394 with the assertion — "Ver ergo illud, cujus mentio apud Xen., in Asiâ non vidit Agesilaus." Dodwell's fondness for investigation and disquisition seems to have led him to give more than a just attention, upon some occasions, to authors whom, on others, he reviles in very unqualified terms; and, at the same time, rather arrogantly to contradict the able contemporary historian, who cannot but have known whether it was spring or autumn when he himself, accompanying Agesilaus, left Asia. But, in the necessity under which I find myself to declare sometimes my dissatisfaction with Dodwell, I desire always to acknowledge high obligation to him; and, if I sometimes leave, without complete correction, errors which I have thought it due from me to point out, I must, for excuse, desire to refer to a former note, the 12th of the 24th chapter.

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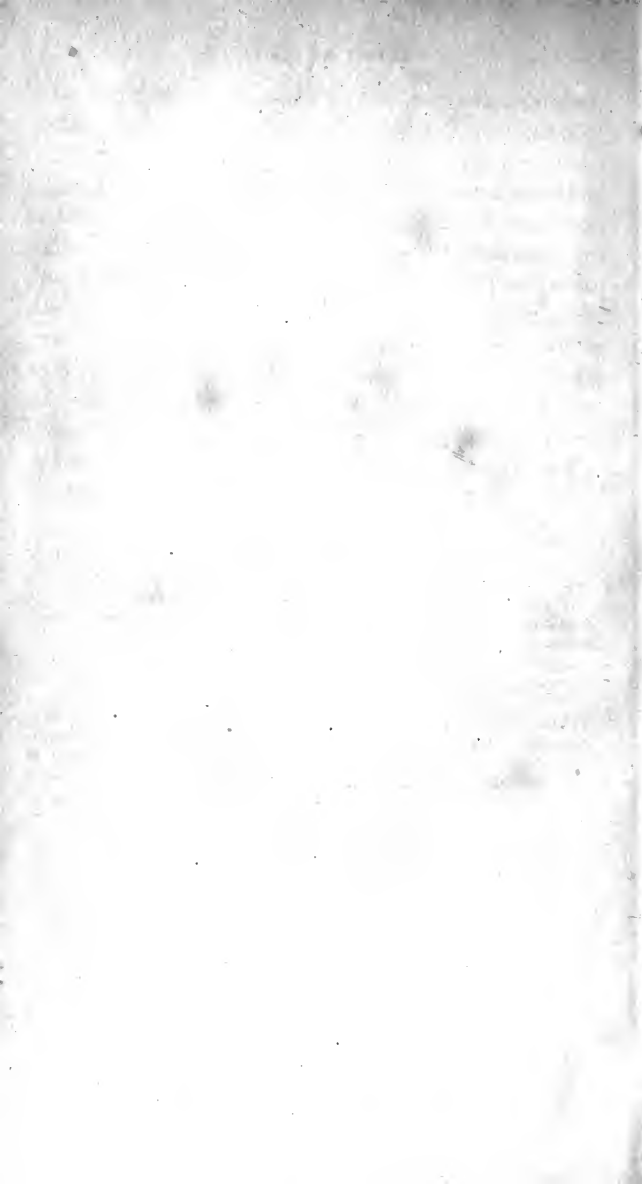
[\* This is the spring of B.C. 394. Dodwell's error about the spring of B.C. 395 (mentioned by Xenophon, Hel. iii. 4. 16.), has been already shown, p. 314.]

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

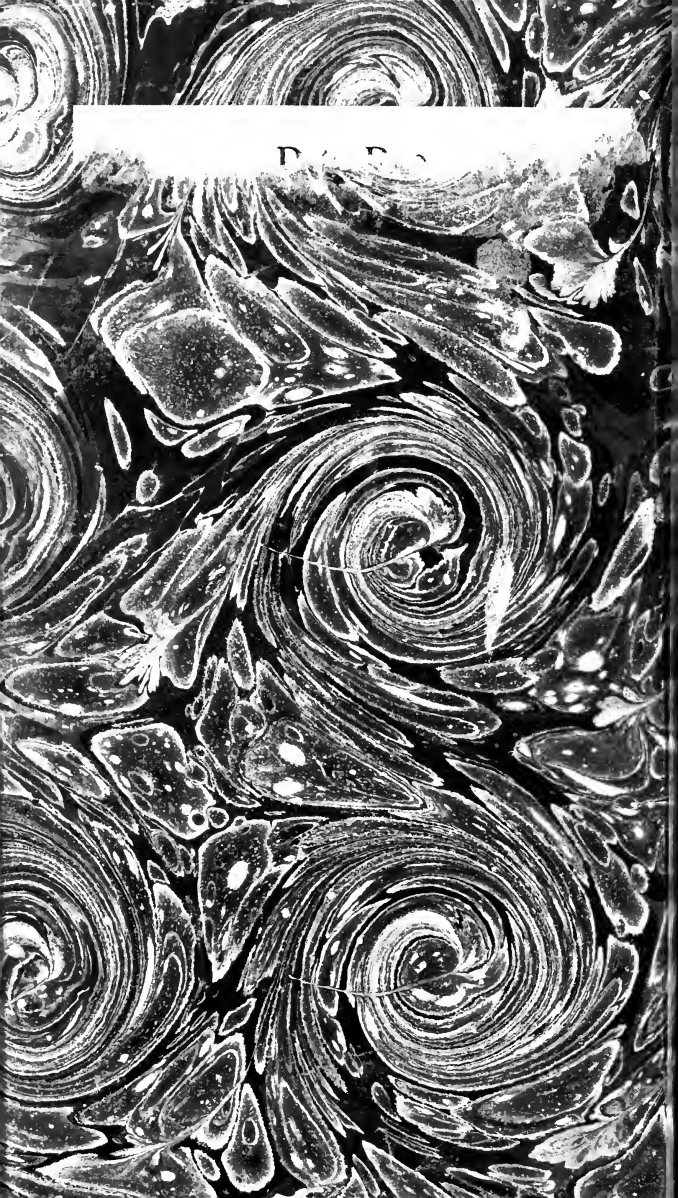
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